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THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

VOLUME I

PRIMARY-GROUP ORGANIZATION

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THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE *and* AMERICA

MONOGRAPH OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP

By

WILLIAM I. THOMAS

and

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

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VOLUME I

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

TO

HELEN CULVER

PREFACE

Among the questions included in the as yet relatively unformulated field of social science (without reference to logical order) are: immigration; racial prejudice; cultural assimilation; the comparative mental and moral worth of races and nationalities; crime, alcoholism, vagabondage, and other forms of anti-social behavior; nationalism and internationalism; democracy and class-hierarchization; efficiency and happiness, particularly as functions of the relation of the individual to the social framework containing his activities; the rate of individualization possible without disorganization; the difference between unreflective social cohesion brought about by tradition, and reflective social co-operation brought about by rational selection of common ends and means; the introduction of new and desirable attitudes and values without recourse to the way of revolution; and, more generally, the determination of the most general and particular laws of social reality, preliminary to the introduction of a social control as satisfactory, or as increasingly satisfactory, as is our control of the material world, resulting from the study of the laws of physical reality.

Now we are ourselves primarily interested in these problems, but we are convinced of the necessity of approaching these and other social problems by isolating given societies and studying them, first, in the totality of their objective complexity, and then comparatively. The present study was not, in fact, undertaken exclusively or even primarily as an expression of interest in the Polish peasant (although our selection of this society was influenced by the question of immigration and by other considerations named below,

pp. 74 ff.), but the Polish peasant was selected rather as a convenient object for the exemplification of a standpoint and method outlined in the methodological note forming the first pages of the present volume. The scope of our study will be best appreciated by having this fact in mind.

The work consists of five volumes, largely documentary in their character. Volumes I and II comprise a study of the organization of the peasant primary groups (family and community), and of the partial evolution of this system of organization under the influence of the new industrial system and of immigration to America and Germany. Volume III is the autobiography (with critical treatment) of an immigrant of peasant origin but belonging by occupation to the lower city class, and illustrates the tendency to disorganization of the individual under the conditions involved in a rapid transition from one type of social organization to another. Volume IV treats the dissolution of the primary group and the social and political reorganization and unification of peasant communities in Poland on the new ground of rational co-operation. Volume V is based on studies of the Polish immigrant in America and shows the degrees and forms of disorganization associated with a too-rapid and inadequately mediated individualization, with a sketch of the beginnings of reorganization.

We are unable to record here in a detailed way our recognition of the generous assistance we have received from many sources, but wish to express a particular appreciation to the following individuals, societies, periodicals, courts, etc.:

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W. I. T.
F. Z.

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METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

One of the most significant features of social evolution is the growing importance which a conscious and rational technique tends to assume in social life. We are less and less ready to let any social processes go on without our active interference and we feel more and more dissatisfied with any active interference based upon a mere whim of an individual or a social body, or upon preconceived philosophical, religious, or moral generalizations.

The marvelous results attained by a rational technique in the sphere of material reality invite us to apply some analogous procedure to social reality. Our success in controlling nature gives us confidence that we shall eventually be able to control the social world in the same measure. Our actual inefficiency in this line is due, not to any fundamental limitation of our reason, but simply to the historical fact that the objective attitude toward social reality is a recent acquisition.

While our realization that nature can be controlled only by treating it as independent of any immediate act of our will or reason is four centuries old, our confidence in "legislation" and in "moral suasion" shows that this idea is not yet generally realized with regard to the social world. But the tendency to rational control is growing in this field also and constitutes at present an insistent demand on the social sciences.

This demand for a rational control results from the increasing rapidity of social evolution. The old forms of control were based upon the assumption of an essential stability of the whole social framework and were effective only in so far as this stability was real. In a stable social

organization there is time enough to develop in a purely empirical way, through innumerable experiments and failures, approximately sufficient means of control with regard to the ordinary and frequent social phenomena, while the errors made in treating the uncommon and rare phenomena seldom affect social life in such a manner as to imperil the existence of the group; if they do, then the catastrophe is accepted as incomprehensible and inevitable. Thus—to take an example—the Polish peasant community has developed during many centuries complicated systems of beliefs and rules of behavior sufficient to control social life under ordinary circumstances, and the cohesion of the group and the persistence of its membership are strong enough to withstand passively the influence of eventual extraordinary occurrences, although there is no adequate method of meeting them. And if the crisis is too serious and the old unity or prosperity of the group breaks down, this is usually treated at first as a result of superior forces against which no fight is possible.

But when, owing to the breakdown of the isolation of the group and its contact with a more complex and fluid world, the social evolution becomes more rapid and the crises more frequent and varied, there is no time for the same gradual, empirical, unmethodical elaboration of approximately adequate means of control, and no crisis can be passively borne, but every one must be met in a more or less adequate way, for they are too various and frequent not to imperil social life unless controlled in time. The substitution of a conscious technique for a half-conscious routine has become, therefore, a social necessity, though it is evident that the development of this technique could be only gradual, and that even now we find in it many implicit or explicit ideas and methods corresponding to stages of human thought passed hundreds or even thousands of years ago.

The oldest but most persistent form of social technique is that of "ordering-and-forbidding"—that is, meeting a crisis by an arbitrary act of will decreeing the disappearance of the undesirable or the appearance of the desirable phenomena, and using arbitrary physical action to enforce the decree. This method corresponds exactly to the magical phase of natural technique. In both, the essential means of bringing a determined effect is more or less consciously thought to reside in the act of will itself by which the effect is decreed as desirable and of which the action is merely an indispensable vehicle or instrument; in both, the process by which the cause (act of will and physical action) is supposed to bring its effect to realization remains out of reach of investigation; in both, finally, if the result is not attained, some new act of will with new material accessories is introduced, instead of trying to find and remove the perturbing causes. A good instance of this in the social field is the typical legislative procedure of today.

It frequently happens both in magic and in the ordering-and-forbidding technique that the means by which the act of will is helped are really effective, and thus the result is attained, but, as the process of causation, being unknown, cannot be controlled, the success is always more or less accidental and dependent upon the stability of general conditions; when these are changed, the intended effect fails to appear, the subject is unable to account for the reasons of the failure and can only try by guesswork some other means. And even more frequent than this accidental success is the result that the action brings some effect, but not the desired one.

There is, indeed, one difference between the ordering-and-forbidding technique and magic. In social life an expressed act of will may be sometimes a real cause, when the person or body from which it emanates has a particular

authority in the eyes of those to whom the order or prohibition applies. But this does not change the nature of the technique as such. The prestige of rulers, ecclesiastics, and legislators was a condition making an act of will an efficient cause under the old régimes, but it loses its value in the modern partly or completely republican organizations.

A more effective technique, based upon "common sense" and represented by "practical" sociology, has naturally originated in those lines of social action in which there was either no place for legislative measures or in which the *hoc volo, sic jubeo* proved too evidently inefficient—in business, in charity and philanthropy, in diplomacy, in personal association, etc. Here, indeed, the act of will having been recognized as inefficient in directing the causal process, real causes are sought for every phenomenon, and an endeavor is made to control the effects by acting upon the causes, and, though it is often partly successful, many fallacies are implicitly involved in this technique; it has still many characters of a planless empiricism, trying to get at the real cause by a rather haphazard selection of various possibilities, directed only by a rough and popular reflection, and its deficiencies have to be shown and removed if a new and more efficient method of action is to be introduced.

The first of these fallacies has often been exposed. It is the latent or manifest supposition that we know social reality because we live in it, and that we can assume things and relations as certain on the basis of our empirical acquaintance with them. The attitude is here about the same as in the ancient assumption that we know the physical world because we live and act in it, and that therefore we have the right of generalizing without a special and thorough investigation, on the mere basis of "common sense." The history of physical science gives us many good examples of the results to which common sense can lead, such as the

geocentric system of astronomy and the mediaeval ideas about motion. And it is easy to show that not even the widest individual acquaintance with social reality, not even the most evident success of individual adaptation to this reality, can offer any serious guaranty of the validity of the common-sense generalizations.

Indeed, the individual's sphere of practical acquaintance with social reality, however vast it may be as compared with that of others, is always limited and constitutes only a small part of the whole complexity of social facts. It usually extends over only one society, often over only one class of this society; this we may call the exterior limitation. In addition there is an interior limitation, still more important, due to the fact that among all the experiences which the individual meets within the sphere of his social life a large, perhaps the larger, part is left unheeded, never becoming a basis of common-sense generalizations. This selection of experiences is the result of individual temperament on the one hand and of individual interest on the other. In any case, whether temperamental inclinations or practical considerations operate, the selection is subjective—that is, valid only for this particular individual in this particular social position—and thereby it is quite different from, and incommensurable with, the selection which a scientist would make in face of the same body of data from an objective, impersonal viewpoint.

Nor is the practical success of the individual within his sphere of activity a guaranty of his knowledge of the relations between the social phenomena which he is able to control. Of course there must be some objective validity in his schemes of social facts—otherwise he could not live in society—but the truth of these schemes is always only a rough approximation and is mixed with an enormous amount of error. When we assume that a successful

adaptation of the individual to his environment is a proof that he knows this environment thoroughly, we forget that there are degrees of success, that the standard of success is to a large extent subjective, and that all the standards of success applied in human society may be—and really are—very low, because they make allowance for a very large number of partial failures, each of which denotes one or many errors. Two elements are found in varying proportions in every adaptation; one is the actual control exercised over the environment; the other is the claims which this control serves to satisfy. The adaptation may be perfect, either because of particularly successful and wide control or because of particularly limited claims. Whenever the control within the given range of claims proves insufficient, the individual or the group can either develop a better control or limit the claims. And, in fact, in every activity the second method, of adaptation by failures, plays a very important rôle. Thus the individual's knowledge of his environment can be considered as real only in the particular matters in which he does actually control it; his schemes can be true only in so far as they are perfectly, absolutely successful. And if we remember how much of practical success is due to mere chance and luck, even this limited number of truths becomes doubtful. Finally, the truths that stand the test of individual practice are always schemes of the concrete and singular, as are the situations in which the individual finds himself.

In this way the acquaintance with social data and the knowledge of social relations which we acquire in practice are always more or less subjective, limited both in number and in generality. Thence comes the well-known fact that the really valuable part of practical wisdom acquired by the individual during his life is incommunicable—cannot be stated in general terms; everyone must acquire it afresh

by a kind of apprenticeship to life—that is, by learning to select experiences according to the demands of his own personality and to construct for his own use particular schemes of the concrete situations which he encounters. Thus, all the generalizations constituting the common-sense social theory and based on individual experience are both insignificant and subject to innumerable exceptions. A sociology that accepts them necessarily condemns itself to remain in the same methodological stage, and a practice based upon them must be as insecure and as full of failures as is the activity of every individual.

Whenever, now, this "practical" sociology makes an effort to get above the level of popular generalizations by the study of social reality instead of relying upon individual experience, it still preserves the same method as the individual in his personal reflection; investigation always goes on with an immediate reference to practical aims, and the standards of the desirable and undesirable are the ground upon which theoretic problems are approached. This is the second fallacy of the practical sociology, and the results of work from this standpoint are quite disproportionate to the enormous efforts that have recently been put forth in the collection and elaboration of materials preparatory to social reforms. The example of physical science and material technique should have shown long ago that only a scientific investigation, which is quite free from any dependence on practice, can become practically useful in its applications. Of course this does not mean that the scientist should not select for investigation problems whose solution has actual practical importance; the sociologist may study crime or war as the chemist studies dyestuffs. But from the method of the study itself all practical considerations must be excluded if we want the results to be valid. And this has not yet been realized by practical sociology.

The usual standpoint here is that of an explicit or implicit norm with which reality should comply. The norm may be intrinsic to the reality, as when it is presumed that the actually prevailing traditional or customary state of things is normal; or it may be extrinsic, as when moral, religious, or aesthetic standards are applied to social reality and the prevailing state of things is found in disaccord with the norm, and in so far abnormal. But this difference has no essential importance. In both cases the normal, agreeing with the norm, is supposed to be known either by practical acquaintance or by some particular kind of rational or irrational evidence; the problem is supposed to lie in the abnormal, the disharmony with the norm. In the first case the abnormal is the exceptional, in the second case it is the usual, while the normal constitutes an exception, but the general method of investigation remains the same.

There is no doubt that the application of norms to reality had a historical merit; investigation was provoked in this way and the "abnormal" became the first object of empirical studies. It is the morally indignant observer of vice and crime and the political idealist-reformer who start positive investigations. But as soon as the investigation is started both indignation and idealism should be put aside. For in treating a certain body of material as representing the normal, another body of material as standing for the abnormal, we introduce at once a division that is necessarily artificial; for if these terms have a meaning it can be determined only on the basis of investigation, and the criterion of normality must be such as to allow us to include in the normal, not only a certain determined stage of social life and a limited class of facts, but also the whole series of different stages through which social life passes, and the whole variety of social phenomena. The definition a priori of a group of facts that we are going to investigate as

abnormal has two immediate consequences. First, our attention is turned to such facts as seem the most important practically, as being most conspicuously contrary to the norm and calling most insistently for reform. But the things that are practically important may be quite insignificant theoretically and, on the contrary, those which seem to have no importance from the practical point of view may be the source of important scientific discoveries. The scientific value of a fact depends on its connection with other facts, and in this connection the most commonplace facts are often precisely the most valuable ones, while a fact that strikes the imagination or stirs the moral feeling may be really either isolated or exceptional, or so simple as to involve hardly any problems. Again, by separating the abnormal from the normal we deprive ourselves of the opportunity of studying them in their connection with each other, while only in this connection can their study be fully fruitful. There is no break in continuity between the normal and the abnormal in concrete life that would permit any exact separation of the corresponding bodies of material, and the nature of the normal and the abnormal as determined by theoretic abstraction can be perfectly understood only with the help of comparison.

But there are other consequences of this fallacy. When the norm is not a result but a starting-point of the investigation, as it is in this case, every practical custom or habit, every moral, political, religious view, claims to be *the* norm and to treat as abnormal whatever does not agree with it. The result is harmful both in practice and in theory. In practice, as history shows and as we see at every moment, a social technique based upon pre-existing norms tends to suppress all the social energies which seem to act in a way contrary to the demands of the norm, and to ignore all the social energies not included in the sphere embraced by the

norm. This limits still more the practical importance of the technique and often makes it simply harmful instead of useful. In theory, a sociology using norms as its basis deprives itself of the possibility of understanding and controlling any important facts of social evolution. Indeed, every social process of real importance always includes a change of the norms themselves, not alone of the activity embraced by the norms. Traditions and customs, morality and religion, undergo an evolution that is more and more rapid, and it is evident that a sociology proceeding on the assumption that a certain norm is valid and that whatever does not comply with it is abnormal finds itself absolutely helpless when it suddenly realizes that this norm has lost all social significance and that some other norm has appeared in its place. This helplessness is particularly striking in moments of great social crisis when the evolution of norms becomes exceptionally rapid. We notice it, for example, with particular vividness during the present war, when the whole individualistic system of norms elaborated during the last two centuries begins to retreat before a quite different system, which may be a state socialism or something quite new.

The third fallacy of the common-sense sociology is the implicit assumption that any group of social facts can be treated theoretically and practically in an arbitrary isolation from the rest of the life of the given society. This assumption is perhaps unconsciously drawn from the general form of social organization, in which the real isolation of certain groups of facts is a result of the demands of practical life. In any line of organized human activity only actions of a certain kind are used, and it is assumed that only such individuals will take part in this particular organization as are able and willing to perform these actions, and that they will not bring into this sphere of activity any tendencies

that may destroy the organization. The factory and the army corps are typical examples of such organizations. The isolation of a group of facts from the rest of social life is here really and practically performed. But exactly in so far as such a system functions in a perfect manner there is no place at all for social science or social practice; the only thing required is a material division and organization of these isolated human actions. The task of social theory and social technique lies outside of these systems; it begins, for example, whenever external tendencies not harmonizing with the organized activities are introduced into the system, when the workmen in the factory start a strike or the soldiers of the army corps a mutiny. Then the isolation disappears; the system enters, through the individuals who are its members, into relation with the whole complexity of social life. And this lack of real isolation, which characterizes a system of organized activity only at moments of crisis, is a permanent feature of all the artificial, abstractly formed groups of facts such as "prostitution," "crime," "education," "war," etc. Every single fact included under these generalizations is connected by innumerable ties with an indefinite number of other facts belonging to various groups, and these relations give to every fact a different character. If we start to study these facts as a whole, without heeding their connection with the rest of the social world, we must necessarily come to quite arbitrary generalizations. If we start to act upon these facts in a uniform way simply because their abstract essence seems to be the same, we must necessarily produce quite different results, varying with the relations of every particular case to the rest of the social world. This does not mean that it is not possible to isolate such groups of facts for theoretic investigation or practical activity, but simply that the isolation must come, not a priori, but a posteriori, in the same way as the distinction

between the normal and the abnormal. The facts must first be taken in connection with the whole to which they belong, and the question of a later isolation is a methodological problem which we shall treat in a later part of this note.

There are two other fallacies involved to a certain extent in social practice, although practical sociology has already repudiated them. The reason for their persistence in practice is that, even if the erroneousness of the old assumptions has been recognized, no new working ideas have been put in their place. These assumptions are: (1) that men react in the same way to the same influences regardless of their individual or social past, and that therefore it is possible to provoke identical behavior in various individuals by identical means; (2) that men develop spontaneously, without external influence, tendencies which enable them to profit in a full and uniform way from given conditions, and that therefore it is sufficient to create favorable or remove unfavorable conditions in order to give birth to or suppress given tendencies.

The assumption of identical reactions to identical influences is found in the most various lines of traditional social activity; the examples of legal practice and of education are sufficient to illustrate it. In the former all the assumptions about the "motives" of the behavior of the parties, all the rules and forms of investigation and examination, all the decisions of the courts, are essentially based upon this principle. Considerations of the variety of traditions, habits, temperaments, etc., enter only incidentally and secondarily, and usually in doubtful cases, by the initiative of the lawyers; they are the result of commonsense psychological observations, but find little if any place in the objective system of laws and rules. And where, as in the American juvenile courts, an attempt is made to base

legal practice upon these considerations, all legal apparatus is properly waived, and the whole procedure rests upon the personal qualifications of the judge. In education the same principle is exhibited in the identity of curricula, and is even carried so far as to require identical work from students in connection with the courses they follow, instead of leaving to everyone as much field as possible for personal initiative. Here again the fallaciousness of the principle is corrected only by the efforts of those individual teachers who try to adapt their methods to the personalities of the pupils, using practical tact and individual acquaintance. But as yet no objective principles have been generally substituted for the traditional uniformity.

The assumption of the spontaneous development of tendencies if the material conditions are given is found in the exaggerated importance ascribed by social reformers to changes of material environment and in the easy conclusions drawn from material conditions on the mentality and character of individuals and groups. For example, it is assumed that good housing conditions will create a good family life, that the abolition of saloons will stop drinking, that the organization of a well-endowed institution is all that is necessary to make the public realize its value in practice. To be sure, material conditions do help or hinder to a large extent the development of corresponding lines of behavior, but only if the tendency is already there, for the way in which they will be used depends on the people who use them. The normal way of social action would be to develop the tendency and to create the condition simultaneously, and, if this is impossible, attention should be paid rather to the development of tendencies than to the change of the conditions, because a strong social tendency will always find its expression by modifying the conditions, while the contrary is not true. For example, a perfect

family life may exist in a Polish peasant community in conditions which would probably be considered in America as a necessary breeding-place of crime and pauperism, while uncommonly favorable external conditions in the Polish aristocratic class do not hinder a decay of family life. In Southern France and Northern Italy there is less drunkenness with the saloon than in the prohibition states of America. In Russian Poland alone, without a Polish university and with only a private philosophical association, more than twice as much original philosophical literature has been published recently as in Russia with her eleven endowed universities. And innumerable examples could be cited from all departments of social life. But it is easy to understand that in the absence of a science of behavior social reformers pay more attention to the material conditions of the people than to the psychology of the people who live in these conditions; for the conditions are concrete and tangible, and we know how to grasp them and to conceive and realize almost perfect plans of material improvements, while in the absence of a science the reformer has no objective principles on which he can rely, and unconsciously tends to ascribe a preponderating importance to the material side of social life.

And these fallacies of the common-sense sociology are not always due to a lack of theoretic ability or of a serious scientific attitude on the part of the men who do the work. They are the unavoidable consequence of the necessity of meeting actual situations at once. Social life goes on without interruption and has to be controlled at every moment. The business man or politician, the educator or charity-worker, finds himself continually confronted by new social problems which he must solve, however imperfect and provisional he knows his solutions to be, for the stream of evolution does not wait for him. He must have imme-

diate results, and it is a merit on his part if he tries to reconcile the claims of actuality with those of scientific objectivity, as far as they can be reconciled, and endeavors to understand the social reality as well as he can before acting. Certainly social life is improved by even such a control as common-sense sociology is able to give; certainly no effort should be discouraged, for the ultimate balance proves usually favorable. But in social activity, even more than in material activity, the common-sense method is the most wasteful method, and to replace it gradually by a more efficient one will be a good investment.

While, then, there is no doubt that actual situations must be handled immediately, we see that they cannot be solved adequately as long as theoretical reflection has their immediate solution in view. But there is evidently one issue from this dilemma, and it is the same as in material technique and physical science. We must be able to foresee future situations and prepare for them, and we must have in stock a large body of secure and objective knowledge capable of being applied to any situation, whether foreseen or unexpected. This means that we must have an empirical and exact social science ready for eventual application. And such a science can be constituted only if we treat it as an end in itself, not as a means to something else, and if we give it time and opportunity to develop along all the lines of investigation possible, even if we do not see what may be the eventual applications of one or another of its results. The example of physical science and its applications show that the only practically economical way of creating an efficient technique is to create a science independent of any technical limitations and then to take every one of its results and try where and in what way they can be practically applied. The contrary attitude, the refusal to recognize any science that does not work to solve practical

problems, in addition to leading to that inefficiency of both science and practice which we have analyzed above, shows a curious narrowness of mental horizon. We do not know what the future science will be before it is constituted and what may be the applications of its discoveries before they are applied; we do not know what will be the future of society and what social problems may arise demanding solution. The only practically justifiable attitude toward science is absolute liberty and disinterested help.

Of course this does not mean that the actual social technique should wait until the science is constituted; such as it is, it is incomparably better than none. But, just as in material technique, as soon as a scientific discovery is at hand an effort should be made to find for it a practical application, and if it can be applied in some particular field a new technique should take the place of the old in this field.

But if no practical aims should be introduced beforehand into scientific investigation, social practice has, nevertheless, the right to demand from social theory that at least some of its results shall be applicable at once, and that the number and importance of such results shall continually increase. As one of the pragmatists has expressed it, practical life can and must give credit to science, but sooner or later science must pay her debts, and the longer the delay the greater the interest required. This demand of ultimate practical applicability is as important for science itself as for practice; it is a test, not only of the practical, but of the theoretical, value of the science. A science whose results can be applied proves thereby that it is really based upon experience, that it is able to grasp a great variety of problems, that its method is really exact—that it is valid. The test of applicability is a salutary responsibility which science must assume in her own interest.

If we attempt now to determine what should be the object-matter and the method of a social theory that would be able to satisfy the demands of modern social practice, it is evident that its main object should be the actual civilized society in its full development and with all its complexity of situations, for it is the control of the actual civilized society that is sought in most endeavors of rational practice. But here, as in every other science, a determined body of material assumes its full significance only if we can use comparison freely, in order to distinguish the essential from the accidental, the simple from the complex, the primary from the derived. And fortunately social life gives us favorable conditions for comparative studies, particularly at the present stage of evolution, in the coexistence of a certain number of civilized societies sufficiently alike in their fundamental cultural problems to make comparison possible, and differing sufficiently in their traditions, customs, and general national spirit to make comparison fruitful. And from the list of these civilized societies we should by no means exclude those non-white societies, like the Chinese, whose organization and attitudes differ profoundly from our own, but which interest us both as social experiments and as situations with which we have to reconcile our own future.

In contrast with this study of the various present civilized societies, the lines along which most of the purely scientific sociological work has been done up to the present —that is, ethnography of primitive societies and social history—have a secondary, though by no means a negligible, importance. Their relation to social practice is only mediate; they can help the practitioner to solve actual cultural problems only to the degree that they help the scientist to understand actual cultural life; they are auxiliary, and their own scientific value will increase with the

progress of the main sphere of studies. In all the endeavors to understand and interpret the past and the savage we must use, consciously or not, our knowledge of our civilized present life, which remains always a basis of comparison, whether the past and the primitive are conceived as analogous with, or as different from, the present and the civilized. The less objective and critical our knowledge of the present, the more subjective and unmethodical is our interpretation of the past and the primitive; unable to see the relative and limited character of the culture within which we live, we unconsciously bend every unfamiliar phenomenon to the limitations of our own social personality. A really objective understanding of history and ethnography can therefore be expected only as a result of a methodical knowledge of present cultural societies.

Another point to be emphasized with regard to the question of the object-matter of social theory is the necessity of taking into account the whole life of a given society instead of arbitrarily selecting and isolating beforehand certain particular groups of facts. We have seen already that the contrary procedure constitutes one of the fallacies of the common-sense sociology. It is also a fallacy usually committed by the observers of their own or of other societies—litterateurs, journalists, travelers, popular psychologists, etc. In describing a given society they pick out the most prominent situations, the most evident problems, thinking to characterize thereby the life of the given group. Still more harmful for the development of science is this fallacy when used in the comparative sociology which studies an institution, an idea, a myth, a legal or moral norm, a form of art, etc., by simply comparing its content in various societies without studying it in the whole meaning which it has in a particular society and then comparing this with the whole meaning which it has in the various societies.

We are all more or less guilty of this fault, but it pleases us to attribute it mainly to Herbert Spencer.

In order to avoid arbitrary limitations and subjective interpretations there are only two possible courses open. We can study monographically whole concrete societies with the total complexity of problems and situations which constitute their cultural life; or we can work on special social problems, following the problem in a certain limited number of concrete social groups and studying it in every group with regard to the particular form which it assumes under the influence of the conditions prevailing in this society, taking into account the complex meaning which a concrete cultural phenomenon has in a determined cultural environment. In studying the society we go from the whole social context to the problem, and in studying the problem we go from the problem to the whole social context. And in both types of work the only safe method is to start with the assumption that we know absolutely nothing about the group or the problem we are to investigate except such purely formal criteria as enable us to distinguish materials belonging to our sphere of interest from those which do not belong there. But this attitude of indiscriminate receptivity toward any concrete data should mark only the first stage of investigation—that of limiting the field. As soon as we become acquainted with the materials we begin to select them with the help of criteria which involve certain methodological generalizations and scientific hypotheses. This must be done, since the whole empirical concreteness cannot be introduced into science, cannot be described or explained. We have to limit ourselves to certain theoretically important data, but we must know how to distinguish the data which are important. And every further step of the investigation will bring with it new methodological problems—analysis of the complete concrete data into

elements, systematization of these elements, definition of social facts, establishing of social laws. All these stages of scientific procedure must be exactly and carefully defined if social theory is to become a science conscious of its own methods and able to apply them with precision, as is the case with the more mature and advanced physical and biological sciences. And it is always the question of an ultimate practical applicability which, according to our previous discussion, will constitute the criterion—the only secure and intrinsic criterion—of a science.

Now there are two fundamental practical problems which have constituted the center of attention of reflective social practice in all times. These are (1) the problem of the dependence of the individual upon social organization and culture, and (2) the problem of the dependence of social organization and culture upon the individual. Practically, the first problem is expressed in the question, How shall we produce with the help of the existing social organization and culture the desirable mental and moral characteristics in the individuals constituting the social group? And the second problem means in practice, How shall we produce, with the help of the existing mental and moral characteristics of the individual members of the group, the desirable type of social organization and culture?[1]

If social theory is to become the basis of social technique and to solve these problems really, it is evident that it must include both kinds of data involved in them—namely, the objective cultural elements of social life and the subjective characteristics of the members of the social group—and that the two kinds of data must be taken as correlated.

[1] Of course a concrete practical task may include both problems, as when we attempt, by appealing to the existing attitudes, to establish educational institutions which will be so organized as to produce or generalize certain desirable attitudes.

For these data we shall use now and in the future the terms "social values" (or simply "values") and "attitudes."

By a social value we understand any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity. Thus, a foodstuff, an instrument, a coin, a piece of poetry, a university, a myth, a scientific theory, are social values. Each of them has a content that is sensual in the case of the foodstuff, the instrument, the coin; partly sensual, partly imaginary in the piece of poetry, whose content is constituted, not only by the written or spoken words, but also by the images which they evoke, and in the case of the university, whose content is the whole complex of men, buildings, material accessories, and images representing its activity; or, finally, only imaginary in the case of a mythical personality or a scientific theory. The meaning of these values becomes explicit when we take them in connection with human actions. The meaning of the foodstuff is its reference to its eventual consumption; that of an instrument, its reference to the work for which it is designed; that of a coin, the possibilities of buying and selling or the pleasures of spending which it involves; that of the piece of poetry, the sentimental and intellectual reactions which it arouses; that of the university, the social activities which it performs; that of the mythical personality, the cult of which it is the object and the actions of which it is supposed to be the author; that of the scientific theory, the possibilities of control of experience by idea or action that it permits. The social value is thus opposed to the natural thing, which has a content but, as a part of nature, has no meaning for human activity, is treated as "valueless"; when the natural thing assumes a meaning, it becomes thereby a social value. And naturally a social value may

have many meanings, for it may refer to many different kinds of activity.

By attitude we understand a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world. Thus, hunger that compels the consumption of the foodstuff; the workman's decision to use the tool; the tendency of the spendthrift to spend the coin; the poet's feelings and ideas expressed in the poem and the reader's sympathy and admiration; the needs which the institution tries to satisfy and the response it provokes; the fear and devotion manifested in the cult of the divinity; the interest in creating, understanding, or applying a scientific theory and the ways of thinking implied in it —all these are attitudes. The attitude is thus the individual counterpart of the social value; activity, in whatever form, is the bond between them. By its reference to activity and thereby to individual consciousness the value is distinguished from the natural thing. By its reference to activity and thereby to the social world the attitude is distinguished from the psychical state. In the examples quoted above we were obliged to use with reference to ideas and volitions words that have become terms of individual psychology by being abstracted from the objective social reality to which they apply, but originally they were designed to express attitudes, not psychological processes. A psychological process is an attitude treated as an object in itself, isolated by a reflective act of attention, and taken first of all in connection with other states of the same individual. An attitude is a psychological process treated as primarily manifested in its reference to the social world and taken first of all in connection with some social value. Individual psychology may later re-establish the connection between the psychological process and the objective reality which has been severed by reflection; it may study psychological

processes as conditioned by the facts going on in the objective world. In the same way social theory may later connect various attitudes of an individual and determine his social character. But it is the original (usually unconsciously occupied) standpoints which determine at once the subsequent methods of these two sciences. The psychological process remains always fundamentally a *state of somebody;* the attitude remains always fundamentally an attitude *toward something.*

Taking this fundamental distinction of standpoint into account, we may continue to use for different classes of attitudes the same terms which individual psychology has used for psychological processes, since these terms constitute the common property of all reflection about conscious life. The exact meaning of all these terms from the standpoint of social theory must be established during the process of investigation, so that every term shall be defined in view of its application and its methodological validity tested in actual use. It would be therefore impractical to attempt to establish in advance the whole terminology of attitudes.

But when we say that the data of social theory are attitudes and values, this is not yet a sufficient determination of the object of this science, for the field thus defined would embrace the whole of human culture and include the object-matter of philology and economics, theory of art, theory of science, etc. A more exact definition is therefore necessary in order to distinguish social theory from these sciences, established long ago and having their own methods and their own aims.

This limitation of the field of social theory arises quite naturally from the necessity of choosing between attitudes or values as fundamental data—that is, as data whose characters will serve as a basis for scientific generalization. There are numerous values corresponding to every attitude,

and numerous attitudes corresponding to every value; if, therefore, we compare different actions with regard to the attitudes manifested in them and form, for example, the general concept of the attitude of solidarity, this means that we have neglected the whole variety of values which are produced by these actions and which may be political or economical, religious or scientific, etc. If, on the contrary, we compare the values produced by different actions and form, for example, the general concepts of economic or religious values, this means that we have neglected the whole variety of attitudes which are manifested in these actions. Scientific generalization must always base itself upon such characters of its data as can be considered essential to its purposes, and the essential characters of human actions are completely different when we treat them from the standpoint of attitudes and when we are interested in them as values. There is therefore no possibility of giving to attitudes and values the same importance in a methodical scientific investigation; either attitudes must be subordinated to values or the contrary.

Now in all the sciences which deal with separate domains of human culture like language, art, science, economics, it is the attitudes which are subordinated to values—a standpoint which results necessarily from the very specialization of these sciences in the study of certain classes of cultural values. For a theorician of art or an economist an attitude is important and is taken into consideration only in so far as it manifests itself in changes introduced into the sphere of aesthetic or economic values, and is defined exclusively by these changes—that is, by the pre-existing complex of objective data upon which it acted and by the objective results of this activity. But unless there is a special class of cultural values which are not the object-matter of any other science, and unless there are special reasons for assign-

ing this class to social theory—a problem which we shall discuss presently—the latter cannot take the same standpoint and subordinate attitudes to values, for this would mean a useless duplication of existing sciences. There may be, as we shall see, some doubts whether such groups of phenomena as religion or morality should be for special reasons included in the field of social theory or should constitute the object-matter of distinct sciences; but there is no doubt that language and literature, art and science, economics and technique, are already more or less adequately treated by the respective disciplines and, while needing perhaps some internal reforms, do not call for a supplementary treatment by sociology or "folk-psychology" (Wundt).

But there is also no doubt that a study of the social world from the opposite standpoint—that is, taking attitudes as special object-matter and subordinating values to them—is necessary, and that an exact methodology of such a study is lacking. Ethics, psychology, ethnology, sociology, have an interest in this field and each has occupied it in a fragmentary and unmethodical way. But in ethics the study of attitudes has been subordinated to the problem of ideal norms of behavior, not treated as an end in itself, and under these conditions no adequate method of a purely theoretic investigation can be worked out. Ethnology has contributed valuable data for the study of attitudes and values as found in the various social groups, particularly the "lower" races, but its work is mainly descriptive. Of the sociological method in the exact sense of the term we shall speak presently. Psychology is, however, the science which has been definitely identified with the study of consciousness, and the main question at this point is how far psychology has covered or is capable of covering the field of attitudes.

As we have indicated above, the attitude is not a psychological datum in the sense given to this term by individual

psychology, and this is true regardless of the differences between psychological schools. Concretely speaking, any method of research which takes the individual as a distinct entity and isolates him from his social environment, whether in order to determine by introspective analysis the content and form of his conscious processes, or in order to investigate the organic facts accompanying these processes, or, finally, in order to study experimentally his behavior as reaction to certain stimuli, finds necessarily only psychical, physical, or biological facts essentially and indissolubly connected with the individual as a psychical, physical, or generally biological reality. In order to reach scientific generalizations, such a method must work on the assumption of the universal permanence and identity of human nature as far as expressed in these facts; that is, its fundamental concepts must be such as to apply to all human beings, some of them even to all conscious beings, and individual differences must be reconstructed with the help of these concepts as variations of the same fundamental background, due to varying intensities, qualities, and combinations of essentially the same universal processes. Indeed, as every psychological fact is a state of the individual as fundamental reality, the uniformity of these facts depends on the permanence and uniformity of such individual realities. The central field of individual psychology is therefore constituted by the most elementary conscious phenomena, which are the only ones that can be adequately treated as essentially identical in all conscious beings; phenomena which are limited to a certain number of individuals either must be treated as complex and analyzed into elementary and universal elements, or, if this cannot be done, then their content, varying with the variation of social milieu, must be omitted and only the *form* of their occurrence reconstructed as presumably the same wherever and whenever they happen.

But psychology is not exclusively individual psychology. We find numerous monographs listed as psychological, but studying conscious phenomena which are not supposed to have their source in "human nature" in general, but in special social conditions, which can vary with the variation of these conditions and still be common to all individuals in the same conditions, and which are therefore treated, not as mere states of individual beings, but as self-sufficient data to be studied without any necessary assumptions about the psychological, physiological, or biological constitution of the individuals composing the group. To this sphere of psychology belong all investigations that concern conscious phenomena particular to races, nationalities, religious, political, professional groups, corresponding to special occupations and interests, provoked by special influences of a social milieu, developed by educational activities and legal measures, etc. The term "social psychology" has become current for this type of investigations. The distinction of social from individual psychology and the methodological unity of social psychology as a separate science have not been sufficiently discussed, but we shall attempt to show that social psychology is precisely the science of attitudes and that, while its methods are essentially different from the methods of individual psychology, its field is as wide as conscious life.

Indeed, every manifestation of conscious life, however simple or complex, general or particular, can be treated as an attitude, because every one involves a tendency to action, whether this action is a process of mechanical activity producing physical changes in the material world, or an attempt to influence the attitudes of others by speech and gesture, or a mental activity which does not at the given moment find a social expression, or even a mere process of sensual apperception. And all the objects of these actions can be treated

as *social* values, for they all have some content which is or may be accessible to other individuals—even a personal "idea" can be communicated to others—and a meaning by which they may become the objects of the activity of others. And thus social psychology, when it undertakes to study the conscious phenomena found in a given social group, has no reasons a priori which force it to limit itself to a certain class of such phenomena to the exclusion of others; any manifestation of the conscious life of any member of the group is an attitude when taken in connection with the values which constitute the sphere of experience of this group, and this sphere includes data of the natural environment as well as artistic works or religious beliefs, technical products and economic relations as well as scientific theories. If, therefore, monographs in social psychology limit themselves to such special problems as, for example, the study of general conscious phenomena produced in a social group by certain physical, biological, economic, political influences, by common occupation, common religious beliefs, etc., the limitation may be justified by the social importance of these phenomena or even by only a particular interest of the author, but it is not necessitated by the nature of social psychology, which can study among the conscious phenomena occurring within the given social group, not only such as are peculiar to this group as a whole, but also, on the one hand, such as individual psychology assumes to be common to all conscious beings, and, on the other hand, such as may be peculiar to only one individual member of the group.

But of course not all the attitudes found in the conscious life of a social group have the same importance for the purposes of social psychology at a given moment, or even for its general purposes as a science of the social world. On the one hand, the task of every science in describing and generalizing the data is to reduce as far as possible the limit-

less complexity of experience to a limited number of concepts, and therefore those elements of reality are the most important which are most generally found in that part of experience which constitutes the object-matter of a science. And thus for social psychology the importance of an attitude is proportionate to the number and variety of actions in which this attitude is manifested. The more generally an attitude is shared by the members of the given social group and the greater the part which it plays in the life of every member, the stronger the interest which it provokes in the social psychologist, while attitudes which are either peculiar to a few members of the group or which manifest themselves only on rare occasions have as such a relatively secondary significance, but may become significant through some connection with more general and fundamental attitudes.[1]

On the other hand, scientific generalizations are productive and valuable only in so far as they help to discover certain relations between various classes of the generalized data and to establish a systematic classification by a logical subordination and co-ordination of concepts; a generalization which bears no relation to others is useless. Now, as the main body of the materials of social psychology is constituted by *cultural* attitudes, corresponding to variable and multiform *cultural* values, such elementary *natural* attitudes as correspond to stable and uniform *physical* conditions—for example, attitudes manifested in sensual perception or in the action of eating—in spite of their generality and practical importance for the human race, can be usefully investigated within the limits of this science only if a connection

[1] In connection, indeed, with the problems of both the creation and the destruction of social values, the most exceptional and divergent attitudes may prove the most important ones, because they may introduce a crisis and an element of disorder. And to the social theorist and technician the disorderly individual is of peculiar interest as a destroyer of values, as in the case of the anti-social individual, and as a creator of values, as in the case of the man of genius.

can be found between them and the cultural attitudes—if, for example, it can be shown that sensual perception or the organic attitude of disgust varies within certain limits with the variation of social conditions. As long as there is no possibility of an actual subordination or co-ordination as between the cultural and the natural attitudes, the natural attitudes have no immediate interest for social psychology, and their investigation remains a task of individual psychology. In other words, those conscious phenomena corresponding to the physical world can be introduced into social psychology only if it can be shown that they are not purely "natural"—independent of social conditions—but also in some measure cultural—influenced by social values.

Thus, the field of social psychology practically comprises first of all the attitudes which are more or less generally found among the members of a social group, have a real importance in the life-organization of the individuals who have developed them, and manifest themselves in social activities of these individuals. This field can be indefinitely enlarged in two directions if the concrete problems of social psychology demand it. It may include attitudes which are particular to certain members of the social group or appear in the group only on rare occasions, as soon as they acquire for some reason a social importance; thus, some personal sexual idiosyncrasy will interest social psychology only if it becomes an object of imitation or of indignation to other members of the group or if it helps to an understanding of more general sexual attitudes. On the other hand, the field of social psychology may be extended to such attitudes as manifest themselves with regard, not to the social, but to the physical, environment of the individual, as soon as they show themselves affected by social culture; for example, the perception of colors would become a socio-

psychological problem if it proved to have evolved during the cultural evolution under the influence of decorative arts.

Social psychology has thus to perform the part of a general science of the subjective side of social culture which we have heretofore usually ascribed to individual psychology or to "psychology in general." It may claim to be *the* science of consciousness as manifested in culture, and its function is to render service, as a general auxiliary science, to all the special sciences dealing with various spheres of social values. This does not mean that social psychology can ever supplant individual psychology; the methods and standpoints of these two sciences are too different to permit either of them to fulfil the function of the other, and, if it were not for the traditional use of the term "psychology" for both types of research, it would be even advisable to emphasize this difference by a distinct terminology.

But when we study the life of a concrete social group we find a certain very important side of this life which social psychology cannot adequately take into account, which none of the special sciences of culture treats as its proper object-matter, and which during the last fifty years has constituted the central sphere of interest of the various researches called *sociology*. Among the attitudes prevailing within a group some express themselves only in individual actions—uniform or multiform, isolated or combined—but only in actions. But there are other attitudes—usually, though not always, the most general ones—which, besides expressing themselves directly, like the first, in actions, find also an indirect manifestation in more or less explicit and formal *rules* of behavior by which the group tends to maintain, to regulate, and to make more general and more frequent the corresponding type of actions among its members. These rules—customs and rituals, legal and educational norms, obligatory beliefs and aims, etc.—arouse a twofold

interest. We may treat them, like actions, as manifestations of attitudes, as indices showing that, since the group demands a certain kind of actions, the attitude which is supposed to manifest itself in these actions is shared by all those who uphold the rule. But, on the other hand, the very existence of a rule shows that there are some, even if only weak and isolated, attitudes which do not fully harmonize with the one expressed in the rule, and that the group feels the necessity of preventing these attitudes from passing into action. Precisely as far as the rule is consciously realized as binding by individual members of the group from whom it demands a certain adaptation, it has for every individual a certain content and a certain meaning and is a value. Furthermore, the action of an individual viewed by the group, by another individual, or even by himself in reflection, with regard to this action's agreement or disagreement with the rule, becomes also a value to which a certain attitude of appreciation or depreciation is attached in various forms. In this way rules and actions, taken, not with regard to the attitudes *expressed* in them, but with regard to the attitudes *provoked* by them, are quite analogous to any other values—economic, artistic, scientific, religious, etc. There may be many various attitudes corresponding to a rule or action as objects of individual reflection and appreciation, and a certain attitude—such as, for example, the desire for personal freedom or the feeling of social righteousness—may bear positively or negatively upon many rules and actions, varying from group to group and from individual to individual. These values cannot, therefore, be the object-matter of social psychology; they constitute a special group of objective cultural data alongside the special domains of other cultural sciences like economics, theory of art, philology, etc. The rules of behavior, and the actions viewed as conforming or not conforming with these rules, constitute

with regard to their objective significance a certain number of more or less connected and harmonious systems which can be generally called *social institutions*, and the totality of institutions found in a concrete social group constitutes the *social organization* of this group. And when studying the social organization as such we must subordinate attitudes to values as we do in other special cultural sciences; that is, attitudes count for us only as influencing and modifying rules of behavior and social institutions.

Sociology, as theory of social organization, is thus a special science of culture like economics or philology, and is in so far opposed to social psychology as the general science of the subjective side of culture. But at the same time it has this in common with social psychology: that the values which it studies draw all their reality, all their power to influence human life, from the social attitudes which are expressed or supposedly expressed in them; if the individual in his behavior is so largely determined by the rules prevailing in his social group, it is certainly due neither to the rationality of these rules nor to the physical consequences which their following or breaking may have, but to his consciousness that these rules represent attitudes of his group and to his realization of the *social* consequences which will ensue for him if he follows or breaks the rules. And therefore both social psychology and sociology can be embraced under the general term of social theory, as they are both concerned with the relation between the individual and the concrete social group, though their standpoints on this common ground are quite opposite, and though their fields are not equally wide, social psychology comprising the attitudes of the individual toward *all* cultural values of the given social group, while sociology can study only one type of these values—social rules—in their relation to individual attitudes.

We have seen that social psychology has a central field of interest including the most general and fundamental cultural attitudes found within concrete societies. In the same manner there is a certain domain which constitutes the methodological center of sociological interest. It includes those rules of behavior which concern more especially the active relations between individual members of the group and between each member and the group as a whole. It is these rules, indeed, manifested as mores, laws, and group-ideals and systematized in such institutions as the family, the tribe, the community, the free association, the state, etc., which constitute the central part of social organization and provide through this organization the essential conditions of the existence of a group as a distinct cultural entity and not a mere agglomeration of individuals; and hence all other rules which a given group may develop and treat as obligatory have a secondary sociological importance as compared with these. But this does not mean that sociology should not extend its field of investigation beyond this methodological center of interest. Every social group, particularly on lower stages of cultural evolution, is inclined to control all individual activities, not alone those which attain directly its fundamental institutions. Thus we find social regulations of economic, religious, scientific, artistic activities, even of technique and speech, and the break of these regulations is often treated as affecting the very existence of the group. And we must concede that, though the effect of these regulations on cultural productivity is often more than doubtful, they do contribute as long as they last to the unity of the group, while, on the other hand, the close association which has been formed between these rules and the fundamental social institutions without which the group cannot exist has often the consequence that cultural evolution which destroys the influence of these secondary regula-

tions may actually disorganize the group. Precisely as far as these social rules concerning special cultural activities are in the above-determined way connected with the rules which bear on social relations they acquire an interest for sociology. Of course it can be determined only a posteriori how far the field of sociology should be extended beyond the investigation of fundamental social institutions, and the situation varies from group to group and from period to period. In all civilized societies some part of every cultural activity—religious, economic, scientific, artistic, etc.—is left outside of social regulation, and another, perhaps even larger, part, though still subjected to social rules, is no longer supposed to affect directly the existence or coherence of society and actually does not affect it. It is therefore a grave methodological error to attempt to include generally in the field of sociology such cultural domains as religion or economics on the ground that in certain social groups religious or economic norms are considered—and in some measure even really are—a part of social organization, for even there the respective values have a content which cannot be completely reduced to social rules of behavior, and their importance for social organization may be very small or even none in other societies or at other periods of evolution.

The fundamental distinction between social psychology and sociology appears clearly when we undertake the comparative study of special problems in various societies, for these problems naturally divide themselves into two classes. We may attempt to explain certain attitudes by tracing their origin and trying to determine the laws of their appearance under various social circumstances, as, for example, when we investigate sexual love or feeling of group-solidarity, bashfulness or showing off, the mystical emotion or the aesthetic amateur attitude, etc. Or we may attempt to give

an explanation of social institutions and try to subject to laws their appearance under various socio-psychological conditions, as when our object-matter is marriage or family, criminal legislation or censorship of scientific opinions, militarism or parliamentarism, etc. But when we study monographically a concrete social group with all its fundamental attitudes and values, it is difficult to make a thoroughgoing separation of socio-psychological and sociological problems, for any concrete body of material contains both. Consequently, since the present work, and particularly its first two volumes, is precisely a monograph of a concrete social group, we cannot go into a detailed analysis of methodological questions concerning exclusively the socio-psychological or sociological investigation in particular, but must limit ourselves to such general methodological indications as concern both. Later, in connection with problems treated in subsequent volumes, more special methodological discussions may be necessary and will be introduced in their proper place.

The chief problems of modern science are problems of causal explanation. The determination and systematization of data is only the first step in scientific investigation. If a science wishes to lay the foundation of a technique, it must attempt to understand and to control the process of *becoming*. Social theory cannot avoid this task, and there is only one way of fulfilling it. Social becoming, like natural becoming, must be analyzed into a plurality of facts, each of which represents a succession of cause and effect. The idea of social theory is the analysis of the totality of social becoming into such causal processes and a systematization permitting us to understand the connections between these processes. No arguments a priori trying to demonstrate the impossibility of application of the principle of causality to conscious human life in general can or should halt social

theory in tending to this idea, whatever difficulties there may be in the way, because as a matter of fact we continually do apply the principle of causality to the social world in our activity and in our thought, and we shall always do this as long as we try to control social becoming in any form. So, instead of fruitlessly discussing the justification of this application in the abstract, social theory must simply strive to make it more methodical and perfect in the concrete—by the actual process of investigation.

But if the general philosophical problem of free will and determinism is negligible, the particular problem of the best possible method of causal explanation is very real. Indeed, its solution is the fundamental and inevitable introductory task of a science which, like social theory, is still in the period of formation. The great and most usual illusion of the scientist is that he simply takes the facts as they are, without any methodological prepossessions, and gets his explanation entirely a posteriori from pure experience. A fact by itself is already an abstraction; we isolate a certain limited aspect of the concrete process of becoming, rejecting, at least provisionally, all its indefinite complexity. The question is only whether we perform this abstraction methodically or not, whether we know what and why we accept and reject, or simply take uncritically the old abstractions of "common sense." If we want to reach scientific explanations, we must keep in mind that our facts must be determined in such a way as to permit of their subordination to general laws. A fact which cannot be treated as a manifestation of one or several laws is inexplicable causally. When, for example, the historian speaks of the causes of the present war, he must assume that the war is a combination of the effects of many causes, each of which may repeat itself many times in history and must have always the same effect, although such a combination of these causes as has produced the present war

may never happen again. And only if social theory succeeds in determining causal laws can it become a basis of social technique, for technique demands the possibility of foreseeing and calculating the effects of given causes, and this demand is realizable only if we know that certain causes will always and everywhere produce certain effects.

Now, the chief error of both social practice and social theory has been that they determined, consciously or unconsciously, social facts in a way which excluded in advance the possibility of their subordination to any laws. The implicit or explicit assumption was that a social fact is composed of two elements, a cause which is either a social phenomenon or an individual act, and an effect which is either an individual act or a social phenomenon. Following uncritically the example of the physical sciences, which always tend to find the one determined phenomenon which is the necessary and sufficient condition of another phenomenon, social theory and social practice have forgotten to take into account one essential difference between physical and social reality, which is that, while the effect of a physical phenomenon depends exclusively on the objective nature of this phenomenon and can be calculated on the ground of the latter's empirical content, the effect of a social phenomenon depends in addition on the subjective standpoint taken by the individual or the group toward this phenomenon and can be calculated only if we know, not only the objective content of the assumed cause, but also the meaning which it has at the given moment for the given conscious beings. This simple consideration should have shown to the social theorist or technician that a social cause cannot be simple, like a physical cause, but is compound, and must include both an objective and a subjective element, a value *and* an attitude. Otherwise the effect will appear accidental and incalculable, because we shall have to search in every par-

ticular case for the reasons why this particular individual or this particular society reacted to the given phenomenon in this way and not in any other way.

In fact, a social value, acting upon individual members of the group, produces a more or less different effect on every one of them; even when acting upon the same individual at various moments it does not influence him uniformly. The influence of a work of art is a typical example. And such uniformities as exist here are quite irrelevant, for they are not absolute. If we once suppose that a social phenomenon is the cause—which means a necessary and sufficient cause, for there are no "insufficient" causes—of an individual reaction, then our statement of this causal dependence has the logical claim of being a scientific law from which there can be no exceptions; that is, every seeming exception must be explained by the action of some other cause, an action whose formulation becomes another scientific law. But to explain why in a concrete case a work of art or a legal prescription which, according to our supposed law, should provoke in the individual a certain reaction *A* provokes instead a reaction *B*, we should have to investigate the whole past of this individual and repeat this investigation in every case, with regard to every individual whose reaction is not *A*, without hoping ever to subordinate those exceptions to a new law, for the life-history of every individual is different. Consequently social theory tries to avoid this methodological absurdity by closing its eyes to the problem itself. It is either satisfied with statements of causal influences which hold true "on the average," "in the majority of cases"—a flat self-contradiction, for, if something *is a cause*, it must have by its very definition, always and necessarily *the same effect*, otherwise it is not a cause at all. Or it tries to analyze phenomena acting upon individuals and individual reactions to them into simpler elements, hoping thus to find simple

facts, while the trouble is not with the complexity of data, but with the complexity of the context on which these data act or in which they are embodied—that is, of the human personality. Thus, as far as the complexity of social data is concerned, the principle of gravitation and the smile of Mona Lisa are simple in their objective content, while their influence on human attitudes has been indefinitely varied; the complex system of a graphomaniac or the elaborate picture of a talentless and skilless man provokes much more uniform reactions. And, on the individual side, the simple attitude of anger can be provoked by an indefinite variety of social phenomena, while the very complicated attitude of militant patriotism appears usually only in very definite social conditions.

But more than this. Far from obviating the problem of individual variations, such uniformities of reaction to social influences as can be found constitute a problem in themselves. For with the exception of the elementary reactions to purely physical stimuli, which may be treated as identical because of the identity of "human nature" and as such belong to individual psychology, all uniformities with which social psychology has to deal are the product of social conditions. If the members of a certain group react in an identical way to certain values, it is because they have been socially trained to react thus, because the traditional rules of behavior predominant in the given group impose upon every member certain ways of defining and solving the practical situations which he meets in his life. But the very success of this social training, the very fact that individual members do accept such definitions and act in accordance with them, is no less a problem than the opposite fact—the frequent insuccess of the training, the growing assertion of the personality, the growing variation of reaction to social rules, the search for personal definitions—which character-

izes civilized societies. And thus, even if we find that all the members of a social group react in the same way to a certain value, still we cannot assume that this value alone is the cause of this reaction, for the latter is also conditioned by the uniformity of attitudes prevailing in the group; and this uniformity itself cannot be taken as granted and omitted—as we omit the uniformity of environing conditions in a physical fact—because it is the particular effect of certain social rules acting upon the members of the group who, because of certain predispositions, have accepted these rules, and this effect may be at any moment counterbalanced by the action of different causes, and is in fact counterbalanced more and more frequently with the progress of civilization.

In short, when social theory assumes that a certain social value is of itself the cause of a certain individual reaction, it is then forced to ask: "But why did this value produce this particular effect when acting on this particular individual or group at this particular moment?" Certainly no scientific answer to such a question is possible, since in order to explain this "why" we should have to know the whole past of the individual, of the society, and of the universe.

Analogous methodological difficulties arise when social theory attempts to explain a change in social organization as a result of the activity of the members of the group. If we treat individual activity as a *cause* of social changes, every change appears as inexplicable, particularly when it is "original," presents many new features. Necessarily this point is one of degree, for every product of individual activity is in a sense a new value and in so far original as it has not existed before this activity, but in certain cases the importance of the change brought by the individual makes its incalculable and inexplicable character particularly striking. We have therefore almost despaired of extending consistently

the principle of causality to the activities of "great men," while it still seems to us that we do understand the everyday productive activity of the average human individual or of the "masses." From the methodological standpoint, however, it is neither more nor less difficult to explain the greatest changes brought into the social world by a Charles the Great, a Napoleon, a Marx, or a Bismarck than to explain a small change brought by a peasant who starts a lawsuit against his relatives or buys a piece of land to increase his farm. The work of the great man, like that of the ordinary man, is the result of his tendency to modify the existing conditions, of his attitude toward his social environment which makes him reject certain existing values and produce certain new values. The difference is in the values which are the object of the activity, in the nature, importance, complexity, of the social problems put and solved. The change in social organization produced by a great man may be thus equivalent to an accumulation of small changes brought by millions of ordinary men, but the idea that a creative process is more explicable when it lasts for several generations than when it is performed in a few months or days, or that by dividing a creative process into a million small parts we destroy its irrationality, is equivalent to the conception that by a proper combination of mechanical elements in a machine we can produce a *perpetuum mobile.*

The simple and well-known fact is that the social results of individual activity depend, not only on the action itself, but also on the social conditions in which it is performed; and therefore the cause of a social change must include both individual and social elements. By ignoring this, social theory faces an infinite task whenever it wants to explain the simplest social change. For the same action in different social conditions produces quite different results. It is true that if social conditions are sufficiently stable the results of

certain individual actions are more or less determinable, at least in a sufficient majority of cases to permit an approximate practical calculation. We know that the result of the activity of a factory-workman will be a certain technical product, that the result of the peasant's starting a lawsuit against a member of his family will be a dissolution of family bonds between him and this member, that the result of a judge's activity in a criminal case will be the condemnation and incarceration of the offender if he is convicted. But all this holds true only if social conditions remain stable. In case of a strike in the factory, the workman will not be allowed to finish his product; assuming that the idea of family solidarity has ceased to prevail in a peasant group, the lawsuit will not provoke moral indignation; if the action upon which the judge has to pronounce this verdict ceases to be treated as a crime because of a change of political conditions or of public opinion, the offender, even if convicted, will be set free. A method which permits us to determine only cases of stereotyped activity and leaves us helpless in face of changed conditions is not a scientific method at all, and becomes even less and less practically useful with the continual increase of fluidity in modern social life.

Moreover, social theory forgets also that the uniformity of results of certain actions is itself a problem and demands explanation exactly as much as do the variations. For the stability of social conditions upon which the uniformity of results of individual activity depends is itself a product of former activities, not an original natural status which might be assumed as granted. Both its character and its degree vary from group to group and from epoch to epoch. A certain action may have indeed determined and calculable effects in a certain society and at a certain period, but will have completely different effects in other societies and at other periods.

And thus social theory is again confronted by a scientifically absurd question. Assuming that individual activity in itself is the cause of social effects, it must then ask: "Why does a certain action produce this particular effect at this particular moment in this particular society?" The answer to this question would demand a complete explanation of the whole status of the given society at the given moment, and thus force us to investigate the entire past of the universe.

The fundamental methodological principle of both social psychology and sociology—the principle without which they can never reach scientific explanation—is therefore the following one:

The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon.

Or, in more exact terms:

The cause of a value or of an attitude is never an attitude or a value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value.[1]

It is only by the application of this principle that we can remove the difficulties with which social theory and social practice have struggled. If we wish to explain the appearance of a new attitude—whether in one individual or in a whole group—we know that this attitude appeared as a consequence of the influence of a social value upon the individual or the group, but we know also that this influence itself

[1] It may be objected that we have neglected to criticize the conception according to which the cause of a social phenomenon is to be sought, not in an individual, but exclusively in another social phenomenon (Durkheim). But a criticism of this conception is implied in the previous discussion of the data of social theory. As these data are both values and attitudes, a fact must include both, and a succession of values alone cannot constitute a fact. Of course much depends also on what we call a "social" phenomenon. An attitude may be treated as a social phenomenon as opposed to the "state of consciousness" of individual psychology; but it is individual, even if common to all members of a group, when we oppose it to a value.

would have been impossible unless there had been some pre-existing attitude, some wish, emotional habit, or intellectual tendency, to which this value has in some way appealed, favoring it, contradicting it, giving it a new direction, or stabilizing its hesitating expressions. Our problem is therefore to find both the value and the pre-existing attitude upon which it has acted and get in their combination the necessary and sufficient cause of the new attitude. We shall not be forced then to ask: "Why did this value provoke in this case such a reaction?" because the answer will be included in the fact—in the pre-existing attitude to which this value appealed. Our fact will bear its explanation in itself, just as the physical fact of the movement of an elastic body *B* when struck by another elastic moving body *A* bears its explanation in itself. We may, if we wish, ask for a more detailed explanation, not only of the appearance of the new attitude, but also for certain specific characters of this attitude, in the same way as we may ask for an explanation, not only of the movement of the body *B* in general, but also of the rapidity and direction of this movement; but the problem always remains limited, and the explanation is within the fact, in the character of the pre-existing attitude and of the influencing value, or in the masses of the bodies *A* and *B* and the rapidity and direction of their movements previous to their meeting. We can indeed pass from the given fact to the new one—ask, for example, "How did it happen that this attitude to which the value appealed was there?" or, "How did it happen that the body *A* moved toward *B* until they met?" But this question again will find its limited and definite answer if we search in the same way for the cause of the pre-existing attitude in some other attitude and value, or of the movement in some other movement.

Let us take some examples from the following volumes. Two individuals, under the influence of a tyrannical behavior

in their fathers, develop completely different attitudes. One shows submission, the other secret revolt and resentment. If the father's tyranny is supposed to be the cause of these opposite attitudes, we must know the whole character of these individuals and their whole past in order to explain the difference of effect. But if we realize that the tyranny is not the sole cause of both facts, but only a common element which enters into the composition of two different causes, our simple task will be to find the other elements of these causes. We can find them, if our materials are sufficient, in certain persisting attitudes of these individuals as expressed in words or actions. We form hypotheses which acquire more and more certainty as we compare many similar cases. We thus reach the conclusion that the other element of the cause is, in the first case, the attitude of familial solidarity, in the second case, the individualistic tendency to assert one's own personal desires. We have thus two completely different facts, and we do not need to search farther. The difference of effects is obviously explained by the difference of causes and is necessarily what it is. The cause of the attitude of submission is the attitude of familial solidarity plus the tyranny of the father; the cause of the attitude of revolt is the tendency to self-assertion plus the tyranny of the father.

As another example—this time a mass-phenomenon—we take the case of the Polish peasants from certain western communities who go to Germany for season-work and show there uniformly a desire to do as much piece-work as possible and work as hard as they can in order to increase their earnings, while peasants of these same communities and even the same individual peasants when they stay at home and work during the season on the Polish estates accept only day-work and refuse piece-work under the most ridiculous pretexts. We should be inclined to ascribe this difference

of attitudes to the difference of conditions, and in fact both the peasants and the Polish estate-owners give this explanation, though they differ as to the nature of causes. The peasants say that the conditions of piece-work are less favorable in Poland than in Germany; the estate-owners claim that the peasants in Germany are more laborious because intimidated by the despotism of German estate-owners and farm-managers. Both contentions are wrong. The conditions of piece-work as compared with day-work are certainly not less favorable in Poland than in Germany, and the peasants are more laborious in Germany on their own account, regardless of the very real despotism which they find there. To be sure, the conditions are different; the whole social environment differs. The environment, however, is not the sufficient cause of the attitudes. The point is that the peasant who goes to Germany is led there by the desire of economic advance, and this attitude predominates during the whole period of season-work, not on account of the conditions themselves, but through the feeling of being in definite new conditions, and produces the desire to earn more by piece-work. On the contrary, the peasant who stays at home preserves for the time being his old attitude toward work as a "necessary evil," and this attitude, under the influence of traditional ideas about the conditions of work on an estate, produces the unwillingness to accept piece-work. Here both components of the cause—pre-existing attitude and value-idea—differ, and evidently the effects must be different.

If now we have to explain the appearance of a social value, we know that this value is a product of the activity of an individual or a number of individuals, and in so far dependent on the attitude of which this activity is the expression. But we know also that this result is inexplicable unless we take into consideration the value (or complex of

values) which was the starting-point and the social material of activity and which has conditioned the result as much as did the attitude itself. The new value is the result of the solution of a problem set by the pre-existing value and the active attitude together; it is the common effect of both of them. The product of an activity—even of a mechanical activity, such as a manufactured thing—acquires its full social reality only when it enters into social life, becomes the object of the attitudes of the group, is socially valued. And we can understand this meaning, which is an essential part of the effect, only if we know what was the social situation when the activity started, what was the social value upon which the individual (or individuals) specially acted and which might have been quite different from the one upon which he intended to act and imagined that he acted. If we once introduce this pre-existing value into the fact as the necessary component of the cause, the effect—the new value—will be completely explicable and we shall not be forced to ask: "Why is it that this activity has brought in these conditions this particular effect instead of the effect it was intended to bring?" any more than physics is forced to ask: "Why is it that an elastic body struck by another elastic body changes the direction and rapidity of its movement instead of changing merely its rapidity or merely its direction?"

To take some further examples, the American social institutions try, by a continuous supervision and interference, to develop a strong marriage-group organization among the Polish immigrants who begin to show certain signs of decay of family life or among whom the relation between husband and wife and children does not come up to the American standards in certain respects. The results of this activity are quite baffling. Far from being constructive of new values, the interference proves rather destructive in a great

majority of cases, in spite of the best efforts of the most intelligent social workers. In a few cases it does not seem to affect much the existing state of things; sometimes, indeed, though very seldom, it does bring good results. This very variation makes the problem still more complicated and difficult. To explain the effects, the social workers try to take into consideration the whole life-history and character of the individuals with whom they deal, but without progressing much in their efforts. The whole misunderstanding comes from the lack of realization that the Polish immigrants here, though scattered and losing most of their social coherence, are still not entirely devoid of this coherence and constitute vague and changing but as yet, in some measure, real communities, and that these communities have brought from the old country several social institutions, among which the most important is the family institution. In new conditions these institutions gradually dissolve, and we shall study this process in later volumes. But the dissolution is not sudden or universal, and thus the American social worker in his activity meets, without realizing it, a set of social values which are completely strange to him, and which his activity directly affects without his knowing it. As far as the family organization is concerned, any interference of external powers—political or social authorities—must act dissolvingly upon it, because it affects the fundamental principle of the family as a social institution—the principle of solidarity. An individual who accepts external interference in his favor against a family member sins against this principle, and a break of family relations must be thus the natural consequence of the well-intentioned but insufficiently enlightened external activities. The effect is brought, not by these activities alone, but by the combination of these activities and the pre-existing peasant family organization. Of course, if the family organization is

different—if, for example, in a given case the marriage-group has already taken the place of the large family—the effect will be different because the total cause is different. Or, if instead of the protective and for the peasant incomprehensible attitude of the social worker or court officer a different attitude is brought into action—if, for example, the family is surrounded by a strong and solidary community of equals who, from the standpoint of communal solidarity, interfere with family relations, just as they do in the old country—again the effect will be different because the other component of the cause—the attitude as expressed in action—is no longer the same.

Another interesting example is the result of the national persecution of the Poles in Prussia, the aim of which was to destroy Polish national cohesion. Following all the efforts which the powerful Prussian state could bring against the Poles, national cohesion has in a very large measure increased, and the national organization has included such elements as were before the persecution quite indifferent to national problems—the majority of the peasants and of the lower city classes. The Prussian government had not realized the existence and strength of the communal solidarity principle in the lower classes of Polish society, and by attacking certain vital interests of these classes, religious and economic, it contributed more than the positive efforts of the intelligent Polish class could have done to the development of this principle and to its extension over the whole Polish society in Posen, Silesia, and West Prussia.

These examples of the result of the violation of our methodological rule could be multiplied indefinitely from the field of social reform. The common tendency of reformers is to construct a rational scheme of the social institution they wish to see produced or abolished, and then to formulate an ideal plan of social activities which would perhaps

lead to a realization of their scheme if social life were merely a sum of individual actions, every one of them starting afresh without any regard for tradition, every one having its source exclusively in the psychological nature of the individual and capable of being completely directed, by well-selected motives, toward definite social aims. But as social reality contains, not only individual acts, but also social institutions, not only attitudes, but also values fixed by tradition and conditioning the attitudes, these values co-operate in the production of the final effect quite independently, and often in spite of the intentions of the social reformer. Thus the socialist, if he presupposes that a solidary and well-directed action of the masses will realize the scheme of a perfect socialistic organization, ignores completely the influence of the whole existing social organization which will co-operate with the revolutionary attitudes of the masses in producing the new organization, and this, not only because of the opposition of those who will hold to the traditional values, but also because many of those values, as socially sanctioned rules for defining situations, will continue to condition many attitudes of the masses themselves and will thus be an integral part of the causes of the final effect.

Of course we do not assert that the proper way of formulating social facts is never used by social theory or reflective social practice. On the contrary, we very frequently find it applied in the study of particular cases, and it is naïvely used in everyday business and personal relations. We use it in all cases involving argument and persuasion. The business man, the shopkeeper, and the politician use it very subtly. We have been compelled in the case of our juvenile delinquents to allow the judges to waive the formal and incorrect conception of social facts and to substitute in the case of the child the proper formula. But the point is that this formula has never been applied with any consistency

and systematic development, while the wrong formula has been used very thoroughly and has led to such imposing systems as, in reflective practice, the whole enormous and continually growing complexity of positive law, and in social theory to the more recent and limited, but rapidly growing, accumulation of works on political science, philosophy of law, ethics, and sociology. At every step we try to enforce certain attitudes upon other individuals without stopping to consider what are their dominant attitudes in general or their prevailing attitudes at the given moment; at every step we try to produce certain social values without taking into account the values which are already there and upon which the result of our efforts will depend as much as upon our intention and persistence.

The chief source of this great methodological mistake, whose various consequences we have shown in the first part of this note, lay probably in the fact that social theory and reflective practice started with problems of political and legal organization. Having thus to deal with the relatively uniform attitudes and relatively permanent conditions which characterized civilized societies several thousand years ago, and relying besides upon physical force as a supposedly infallible instrument for the production of social uniformity and stability whenever the desirable attitudes were absent, social theory and reflective practice have been capable of holding and of developing, without remarking its absurdity, a standpoint which would be scientifically and technically justifiable only if human attitudes were absolutely and universally uniform and social conditions absolutely and universally stable.

A systematic application and development of the methodological rules stated above would necessarily lead in a completely different direction. Its final result would

not be a system of definitions, like law and special parts of political science, nor a system of the philosophical determination of the essence of certain data, like philosophy of law, the general part of political science, ethics, and many sociological works, nor a general outline of social evolution, like the sociology of the Spencerian school or the philosophies of history, but a system of laws of social becoming, in which definitions, philosophical determinations of essence, and outlines of evolution would play the same part as they do in physical science—that is, would constitute either instruments helping to analyze reality and to find laws, or conclusions helping to understand the general scientific meaning and the connection of laws.

It is evident that such a result can be attained only by a long and persistent co-operation of social theoricians. It took almost four centuries to constitute physical science in its present form, and, though the work of the social scientist is incalculably facilitated by the long training in scientific thinking in general which has been acquired by mankind since the period of the renaissance, it is on the other hand made more difficult by certain characters of the social world as compared with the natural world. We do not include among these difficulties the complexity of the social world which has been so often and unreflectively emphasized. Complexity is a relative characteristic; it depends on the method and the purpose of analysis. Neither the social nor the natural world presents any ready and absolutely simple elements, and in this sense they are both equally complex, because they are both infinitely complex. But this complexity is a metaphysical, not a scientific, problem. In science we treat any datum as a simple element if it behaves as such in all the combinations in which we find it, and any fact is a simple fact which can indefinitely repeat itself—that is, in which the relation between cause and effect can

be assumed to be permanent and necessary. And in this respect it is still a problem whether the social world will not prove much less complex than the natural world if only we analyze its data and determine its facts by proper methods. The prepossession of complexity is due to the naturalistic way of treating the social reality. If it is maintained that the social world has to be treated as an expression or a product of the psychological, physiological, or biological nature of human beings, then, of course, it appears as incomparably more complex than the natural world, because to the already inexhaustibly complex conscious human organism as a part of nature is added the fact that in a social group there are numerous and various human beings interacting in the most various ways. But if we study the social world, without any naturalistic prepossessions, simply as a plurality of specific data, causally interconnected in a process of becoming, the question of complexity is no more baffling for social theory, and may even prove less so, than it is for physical science.

The search for laws does not actually present any special difficulties if our facts have been adequately determined. When we have found that a certain effect is produced by a certain cause, the formulation of this causal dependence has in itself the character of a law; that is, we assume that whenever this cause repeats itself the effect will necessarily follow. The further need is to explain apparent exceptions. But this need of explanation, which is the stumbling-block of a theory that has defined its facts inadequately, becomes, on the contrary, a factor of progress when the proper method is employed. For when we know that a certain cause can have only one determined effect, when we have assumed, for example, that the attitude A plus the value B is the cause of the attitude C, then if the presumed cause $A+B$ is there and the expected effect C does not appear, this means either that

we have been mistaken in assuming that $A+B$ was the cause of C, or that the action of $A+B$ was interfered with by the action of some other cause $A+Y$ or $X+B$ or $X+Y$. In the first case the exception gives us the possibility of correcting our error; in the second case it permits us to extend our knowledge by finding a new causal connection, by determining the partly or totally unknown cause $A+Y$ or $X+B$ or $X+Y$ which has interfered with the action of our known case $A+B$ and brought a complex effect $D=C+Z$, instead of the expected C. And thus the exception from a law becomes the starting-point for the discovery of a new law.

This explanation of apparent exceptions being the only logical demand that can be put upon a law, it is evident that the difference between particular and general laws is only a difference of the field of application, not one of logical validity. Suppose we find in the present work some laws concerning the social life of Polish peasants showing that whenever there is a pre-existing attitude A and the influence of a value B, another attitude C appears, or whenever there is a value D and an activity directed by an attitude E, a new value F is the effect. If the causes $A+B$ and $D+E$ are found only in the social life of the Polish peasants and nowhere else, because some of their components—the attitudes or values involved—are peculiar to the Polish peasants, then, of course, the laws $A+B=C$ and $D+E=F$ will be particular laws applicable only to the Polish peasant society, but within these limits as objectively valid as others which social theory may eventually find of applicability to humanity in general. We cannot extend them beyond these limits and do not need to extend them. But the situation will be different if the attitudes A and E and the values B and D are not peculiar to the Polish peasant society, and thus the causes $A+B$ and $D+E$ can be found also in other societies. Then the laws $A+B=C$ and $D+E=F$, based on

facts discovered among Polish peasants, will have quite a different meaning. But we cannot be sure whether they are valid for other societies until we have found that in other societies the causes $A+B$ and $D+E$ produce the same respective effects C and F. And since we cannot know whether these values and attitudes will be found or not in other societies until we have investigated these societies, the character of our laws must remain until then undetermined; we cannot say definitely whether they are absolutely valid though applicable only to the Polish peasants or only hypothetically valid although applicable to all societies.

The problem of laws being the most important one of methodology, we shall illustrate it in detail from two concrete examples. Of course we do not really assert that the supposed laws which we use in these illustrations are already established; some of them are still hypotheses, others even mere fictions. The purpose is to give an insight into the mechanism of the research.

Let us take as the first example the evolution of the economic life of the Polish peasant as described in the introduction to the first and second volumes of this work. We find there, first, a system of familial economic organization with a thoroughly social and qualitative character of economic social values, succeeded by an individualistic system with a quantification of the values. This succession as such does not determine any social fact; we obtain the formula of facts only if we find the attitude that constructs the second system out of the first. Now, this attitude is the tendency to economic advance, and thus our empirical facts are subsumed to the formula: familial system—tendency to advance—individualistic system. The same facts being found generally among Polish peasants of various localities, we can assume that this formula expresses a law, but whether

it is a law applicable only to the Polish peasants or to all societies depends on whether such a familial economic organization associated with a tendency to advance results always and everywhere in an individualistic system. We may further determine that if we find the familial system, but instead of the tendency to economic advance another attitude—for example, the desire to concentrate political power in the family—the result will be different—for example, the feudal system of hereditary estate. Or we may find that if the tendency to economic advance acts upon a different system—for example, a fully developed economic individualism—it will also lead to a different social formation—for example, to the constitution of trusts. These other classes of facts may become in turn the bases of social hypotheses if they prove sufficiently general and uniform. But certainly, whether the law is particular or general, we must always be able to explain every seeming exception. For example, we find the familial system and the tendency to advance in a Polish peasant family group, but no formation of the individualistic system—the family tends to advance as a whole. In this case we must suppose that the evolution has been hindered by some factors which change the expected results. There may be, for example, a very strong attitude of family pride developed traditionally in all the members, as in families of peasant nobility who had particular privileges during the period of Poland's independence. In this case familial pride co-operating with the tendency to advance will produce a mixed system of economic organization, with quantification of values but without individualism. And if our law does not stand all these tests we have to drop it. But even then we may still suppose that its formulation was too general, that within the range of facts covered by these concepts a more limited and particular law could be discovered—for example, that the

system of "work for living," under the influence of the tendency to advance, becomes a system of "work for wages."

As another type of example we select a particular case of legal practice and attempt to show what assumptions are implicitly involved in it, what social laws are uncritically assumed, and try to indicate in what way the assumptions of common sense could be verified, modified, complemented, or rejected, so as to make them objectively valid. For, if science is only developed, systematized, and perfected common sense, the work required to rectify common sense before it becomes science is incomparably greater than is usually supposed.

The case is simple. A Polish woman (K) has loaned to another (T) $300 at various times. After some years she claims her money back; the other refuses to pay. K goes to court. Both bring witnesses. The witnesses are examined. First assumption of legal practice, which we may put into the form of a social law, is: "A witness who has sworn to tell the truth will tell the truth, unless there are reasons for exception."[1] But according to our definition there can be no such law where only two elements are given. There might be a law if we had (1) the oath (a social value); (2) an individual attitude x, still to be determined; (3) a true testimony. But here the second element is lacking; nobody has determined the attitude which, in connection with the oath, results in a true testimony, and therefore, of course, nobody knows how to produce such an attitude. It is supposed that the necessary attitude—whatever it is—

[1] It is the formal side of this assumption, not the sphere of its application, that is important. Whether we admit few or many exceptions, whether we say, "The witness often [or sometimes] tells the truth," has not the slightest bearing on the problem of method. There is a general statement and a limitation of this statement, and both statement and limitation are groundless—cannot be explained causally.

appears automatically when the oath is taken. Naturally in many, if not in the majority of cases, the supposition proves false, and if it proves true, nobody knows why. In our case it proved mainly false. Not only the witnesses of the defense, but some of the witnesses of the plaintiff, were lying. What explanation is possible? We could, of course, if we knew what attitude is necessary for true testimony, determine why it was not there or what were the influences that hindered its action. But, not knowing it, we have simply to use some other common-sense generalization, such as: "If the witnesses are lying in spite of the oath, there is some interest involved—personal, familial, friendly." And this was the generalization admitted in this case, and it has no validity whatever because it cannot be converted into a law; we cannot say that interest is the cause making people lie, but we must have again the *tertium quid*—the attitude upon which the interest must act in order to produce a lie. And, on the other hand, a lie can be the result of other factors acting upon certain pre-existing attitudes, and this was precisely the case in the example we are discussing. The Polish peasants lie in court because they bring into court a fighting attitude. Once the suit is started, it becomes a fight where considerations of honesty or altruism are no longer of any weight, and the only problem is—not to be beaten. Here we have, indeed, a formula that may become, if sufficiently verified, a sociological law—the lawsuit and a radical fighting attitude result in false testimonies. Apparent exceptions will then be explained by influences changing either the situation of the lawsuit or the attitude. Thus, in the actual case, the essence of most testimonies for the plaintiff was true, namely, the claim was real. But the claim preceded the lawsuit; the peasant woman would probably not have started the lawsuit without a just claim, for as long as the

suit was not started considerations of communal solidarity were accepted as binding, and a false claim would have been considered the worst possible offense. The situation preceding the suit was, in short: law permitting the recovery of money that the debtor refused to pay—creditor's feeling of being wronged and desire of redress—legal complaint. There was no cause making a false claim possible, for the law, subjectively for the peasant, can be here only a means of redress, not a means of illicit wrong, since he does not master it sufficiently to use it in a wrong way, and the desire of redress is the only attitude not offset by the feeling of communal solidarity.

It would lead us too far if we analyzed all the assumptions made by legal practice in this particular case, but we mention one other. The attorney for the defense treated as absurd the claim of the plaintiff that she had loaned money without any determined interest, while she could have invested it at good interest and in a more secure way. The assumption was that, being given various possibilities of investing money, the subject will always select the one that is most economically profitable. We see here again the formal error of stating a law of two terms. The law can be binding only if the third missing term is inserted, namely, an attitude of the subject which we can express approximately: desire to increase fortune or income. Now, in the actual case, this attitude, if existing at all, was offset by the attitude of communal solidarity, and among the various possibilities of investing money, not the one that was economically profitable, but the one that gave satisfaction to the attitude of solidarity was selected.

The form of legal generalization is typical for all generalizations which assume only one datum instead of two as sufficient to determine the effect. It then becomes necessary to add as many new generalizations of the same type

as the current practice requires in order to explain the exceptions. These new generalizations limit the fundamental one without increasing positively the store of our knowledge, and the task is inexhaustible. Thus, we may enumerate indefinitely the possible reasons for a witness not telling the truth in spite of the oath, and still this will not help us to understand why he tells the truth when he tells it. And with any one of these reasons of exception the case is the same. If we say that the witness does not tell the truth when it is contrary to his interest, we must again add indefinitely reasons of exception from this rule without learning why the witness lies when the truth is not contrary to his interest if he does. And so on. If in practice this process of accounting for exceptions, then for exceptions from these exceptions, etc., does not go on indefinitely, it is simply because, in a given situation, we can stop at a certain point with sufficient approximation to make our error not too harmful practically.

It is evident that the only way of verifying, correcting, and complementing the generalizations of common sense is to add in every case the missing third element. We cannot, of course, say in advance how much will remain of these generalizations after such a conversion into exact sociological laws; probably, as far as social theory is concerned, it will be more economical to disregard almost completely the results of common sense and to investigate along quite new and independent lines. But for the sake of an immediate improvement of social practice it may sometimes prove useful to take different domains of practical activity and subject them to criticism.

In view of the prevalent tendency of common-sense generalizations to neglect the differences of values and attitudes prevailing in various social groups—a tendency well manifested in the foregoing example—the chief danger

of sociology in searching for laws is rather to overestimate than to underestimate the generality of the laws which it may discover. We must therefore remember that there is less risk in assuming that a certain law applies exclusively in the given social conditions than in supposing that it may be extended over all societies.

The ideal of social theory, as of every other nomothetic science, is to interpret as many facts as possible by as few laws as possible, that is, not only to explain causally the life of particular societies at particular periods, but to subordinate these particular laws to general laws applicable to all societies at all times—taking into account the historical evolution of mankind which continually brings new data and new facts and thus forces us to search for new laws in addition to those already discovered. But the fact that social theory as such cannot test its results by the laboratory method, but must rely entirely on the logical perfection of its abstract analysis and synthesis, makes the problem of control of the validity of its generalizations particularly important. The insufficient realization of the character of this control has been the chief reason why so many sociological works bear a character of compositions, intermediary between philosophy and science and fulfilling the demands of neither.

We have mentioned above the fact that social theory as nomothetic science must be clearly distinguished from any philosophy of social life which attempts to determine the essence of social reality or to outline the unique process of social evolution. This distinction becomes particularly marked when we reach the problem of testing the generalizations. Every scientific law bears upon the empirical facts themselves in their whole variety, not upon their underlying common essence, and hence every new discovery in the domain which it embraces affects it directly and

immediately, either by corroborating it or by invalidating it. And, as scientific laws concern facts which repeat themselves, they automatically apply to the future as well as to the past, and new happenings in the domain embraced by the law must be taken into consideration as either justifying or contradicting the generalization based upon past happenings, or demanding that this generalization be supplemented by a new one.

And thus the essential criterion of social science as against social philosophy is the direct dependence of its generalizations on new discoveries and new happenings. If a social generalization is not permanently qualified by the assumption that at any moment a single new experience may contradict it, forcing us either to reject it or to supplement it by other generalizations, it is not scientific and has no place in social theory, unless as a general principle helping to systematize the properly scientific generalizations. The physicist, the chemist, and the biologist have learned by the use of experiment that their generalizations are scientifically fruitful only if they are subject to the check of a possible experimental failure, and thus the use of experiment has helped them to pass from the mediaeval *philosophia naturalis* to the modern natural science. The social theorician must follow their example and methodically search only for such generalizations as are subject to the check of a possible contradiction by new facts and should leave the empirically unapproachable essences and meanings where they properly belong, and where they have a real though different importance and validity—in philosophy.

The ultimate test of social theory, as we have emphasized throughout the present note, will be its application in practice, and thus its generalizations will be also subject in the last resort to the check of a possible failure. However, practical application is not experimentation. The results

of the physical sciences are also ultimately tested by their application in industry, but this does not alter the fact that the test is made on the basis of laboratory experiments. The difference between experiment and application is twofold: (1) The problems themselves usually differ in complexity. The experiment by which we test a scientific law is artificially simplified in view of the special theoretic problem, whereas in applying scientific results to attain a practical purpose we have a much more complex situation to deal with, necessitating the use of several scientific laws and the calculation of their interference. This is a question with which we shall deal presently. (2) In laboratory experiments the question of the immediate practical value of success or failure is essentially excluded for the sake of their theoretical value. Whether the chemist in trying a new combination will spoil his materials and have to buy a new supply, whether the new combination will be worth more or less money than the elements used, are from the standpoint of science completely irrelevant questions; and even a failure if it puts the scientist on the trail of a new law will be more valuable than a success if it merely corroborates once more an old and well-established law. But in applying scientific results in practice we have essentially the practical value of success or failure in view. It is unthinkable that a chemist asked to direct the production of a new kind of soap in a factory should test his theory by direct application and risk the destruction of a hundred thousand dollars worth of material, instead of testing it previously on a small scale by laboratory experiments. Now in all so-called social experiments, on however small a scale, the question of practical value is involved, because the objects of these experiments are men; the social scientist cannot exclude the question of the bearing of his "experiments" on the future of those who are affected by them. He is therefore

seldom or never justified in risking a failure for the sake of testing his theory. Of course he does and can take risks, not as a scientist, but as a practical man; that is, he is justified in taking the risk of bringing some harm if there are more chances of benefit than of harm to those on whom he operates. His risk is then the practical risk involved in every application of an idea, not the special theoretic risk involved in the mere testing of the idea. And, in order to diminish this practical risk, he must try to make his theory as certain and applicable as possible before trying to apply it in fact, and he can secure this result and hand over to the social practitioner generalizations at least approximately as applicable as those of physical science, only if he uses the check of contradiction by new experience. This means that besides using only such generalizations as can be contradicted by new experiences he must not wait till new experiences impose themselves on him by accident, but must search for them, must institute a systematic method of *observation*. And, while it is only natural that a scientist in order to form a hypothesis and to give it some amount of probability has to search first of all for such experiences as may corroborate it, his hypothesis cannot be considered fully tested until he has made subsequently a systematic search for such experiences as may contradict it, and proved those contradictions to be only seeming, explicable by the interference of definite factors.

Assuming now that social theory fulfils its task satisfactorily and goes on discovering new laws which can be applied to regulate social becoming, what will be the effect of this on social practice? First of all, the limitations with which social practice has struggled up to the present will be gradually removed. Since it is theoretically possible to find what social influences should be applied to certain

already existing attitudes in order to produce certain new attitudes, and what attitudes should be developed with regard to certain already existing social values in order to make the individual or the group produce certain new social values, there is not a single phenomenon within the whole sphere of human life that conscious control cannot reach sooner or later. There are no objective obstacles in the nature of the social world or in the nature of the human mind which would essentially prevent social practice from attaining gradually the same degree of efficiency as that of industrial practice. The only obstacles are of a subjective kind.

There is, first, the traditional appreciation of social activity as meritorious in itself, for the sake of its intentions alone. There must, indeed, be some results in order to make the good intentions count, but, since anything done is regarded as meritorious, the standards by which the results are appreciated are astonishingly low. Social practice must cease to be a matter of merit and be treated as a necessity. If the theorician is asked to be sure of his generalizations before trying to apply them in practice, it is at least strange that persons of merely good will are permitted to try out on society indefinitely and irresponsibly their vague and perhaps sentimental ideas.

The second obstacle to the development of a perfect social practice is the well-known unwillingness of the common-sense man to accept the control of scientific technique. Against this unwillingness there is only one weapon—success. This is what the history of industrial technique shows. There is perhaps not a single case where the first application of science to any field of practice held by common sense and tradition did not provoke the opposition of the practitioner. It is still within the memory of man that the old farmer with his common-sense methods laughed at the idea that the city chap could teach him any-

thing about farming, and was more than skeptical about the application of the results of soil-analysis to the growing of crops. The fear of new things is still strong even among cultivated persons, and the social technician has to expect that he will meet at almost every step this old typical hostility of common sense to science. He can only accept it and interpret it as a demand to show the superiority of his methods by their results.

But the most important difficulty which social practice has to overcome before reaching a level of efficiency comparable to that of industrial practice lies in the difficulty of applying scientific generalizations. The laws of science are abstract, while the practical situations are concrete, and it requires a special intellectual activity to find what are the practical questions which a given law may help to solve, or what are the scientific laws which may be used to solve a given practical question. In the physical sphere this intellectual activity has been embodied in technology, and it is only since the technologist has intervened between the scientist and the practitioner that material practice has acquired definitely the character of a self-conscious and planfully developing technique and ceased to be dependent on irrational and often unreasonable traditional rules. And if material practice needs a technology in spite of the fact that the generalizations which physical science hands over to it have been already experimentally tested, this need is much more urgent in social practice where the application of scientific generalizations is their first and only experimental test.

We cannot enter here into detailed indications of what social technology should be, but we must take into account the chief point of its method—the general form which every concrete problem of social technique assumes. Whatever may be the aim of social practice—modification of individual

attitudes or of social institutions—in trying to attain this aim we never find the elements which we want to use or to modify isolated and passively waiting for our activity, but always embodied in active practical *situations*, which have been formed independently of us and with which our activity has to comply.

The situation is the set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated. Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation. The situation involves three kinds of data: (1) The objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act, that is, the totality of values—economic, social, religious, intellectual, etc.—which at the given moment affect directly or indirectly the conscious status of the individual or the group. (2) The pre-existing attitudes of the individual or the group which at the given moment have an actual influence upon his behavior. (3) The definition of the situation, that is, the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes. And the definition of the situation is a necessary preliminary to any act of the will, for in given conditions and with a given set of attitudes an indefinite plurality of actions is possible, and one definite action can appear only if these conditions are selected, interpreted, and combined in a determined way and if a certain systematization of these attitudes is reached, so that one of them becomes predominant and subordinates the others. It happens, indeed, that a certain value imposes itself immediately and unreflectively and leads at once to action, or that an attitude as soon as it appears excludes the others and expresses itself unhesitatingly in an active process. In these cases, whose most radical examples are found in reflex and instinctive actions, the definition is already given

to the individual by external conditions or by his own tendencies. But usually there is a process of reflection, after which either a ready social definition is applied or a new personal definition worked out.

Let us take a typical example out of the fifth volume of the present work, concerning the family life of the immigrants in America. A husband, learning of his wife's infidelity, deserts her. The objective conditions were: (1) the social institution of marriage with all the rules involved; (2) the wife, the other man, the children, the neighbors, and in general all the individuals constituting the habitual environment of the husband and, in a sense, given to him as values; (3) certain economic conditions; (4) the fact of the wife's infidelity. Toward all these values the husband had certain attitudes, some of them traditional, others recently developed. Now, perhaps under the influence of the discovery of his wife's infidelity, perhaps after having developed some new attitude toward the sexual or economic side of marriage, perhaps simply influenced by the advice of a friend in the form of a rudimentary scheme of the situation helping him to "see the point," he defines the situation for himself. He takes certain conditions into account, ignores or neglects others, or gives them a certain interpretation in view of some chief value, which may be his wife's infidelity, or the economic burdens of family life of which this infidelity gives him the pretext to rid himself, or perhaps some other woman, or the half-ironical pity of his neighbors, etc. And in this definition some one attitude—sexual jealousy, or desire for economic freedom, or love for the other woman, or offended desire for recognition—or a complex of these attitudes, or a new attitude (hate, disgust) subordinates to itself the others and manifests itself chiefly in the subsequent action, which is evidently a solution of the situation, and fully determined both in its social and in its individual

components by the whole set of values, attitudes, and reflective schemes which the situation included. When a situation is solved, the result of the activity becomes an element of a new situation, and this is most clearly evidenced in cases where the activity brings a change of a social institution whose unsatisfactory functioning was the chief element of the first situation.

Now, while the task of science is to analyze by a comparative study the whole process of activity into elementary facts, and it must therefore ignore the variety of concrete situations in order to be able to find laws of causal dependence of abstractly isolated attitudes or values on other attitudes and values, the task of technique is to provide the means of a rational control of concrete situations. The situation can evidently be controlled either by a change of conditions or by a change of attitudes, or by both, and in this respect the rôle of technique as application of science is easily characterized. By comparing situations of a certain type, the social technician must find what are the predominant values or the predominant attitudes which determine the situation more than others, and then the question is to modify these values or these attitudes in the desired way by using the knowledge of social causation given by social theory. Thus, we may find that some of the situations among the Polish immigrants in America resulting in the husband's desertion are chiefly determined by the wife's infidelity, others by her quarrelsomeness, others by bad economic conditions, still others by the husband's desire for freedom, etc. And, if in a given case we know what influences to apply in order to modify these dominating factors, we can modify the situation accordingly, and ideally we can provoke in the individual a behavior in conformity with any given scheme of attitudes and values.

To be sure, it may happen that, in spite of an adequate scientific knowledge of the social laws permitting the

modification of those factors which we want to change, our efforts will fail to influence the situation or will produce a situation more undesirable than the one we wished to avoid. The fault is then with our technical knowledge. That is, either we have failed in determining the relative importance of the various factors, or we have failed to foresee the influence of other causes which, interfering with our activity, produce a quite unexpected and undesired effect. And since it is impossible to expect from every practitioner a complete scientific training and still more impossible to have him work out a scientifically justified and detailed plan of action for every concrete case in particular, the special task of the social technician is to prepare, with the help of both science and practical observation, thorough schemes and plans of action for all the various *types* of situations which may be found in a given line of social activity, and leave to the practitioner the subordination of the given concrete situation to its proper type. This is actually the rôle which all the organizers of social institutions have played, but the technique itself must become more conscious and methodically perfect, and every field of social activity should have its professional technicians. The evolution of social life makes necessary continual modifications and developments of social technique, and we can hope that the evolution of social theory will continually put new and useful scientific generalizations within the reach of the social technician; the latter must therefore remain in permanent touch with both social life and social theory, and this requires a more far-going specialization than we actually find.

But, however efficient this type of social technique may become, its application will always have certain limits beyond which a different type of technique will be more useful. Indeed, the form of social control outlined above presupposes that the individual—or the group—is treated

as a passive object of our activity and that we change the situations for him, from case to case, in accordance with our plans and intentions. But the application of this method becomes more and more difficult as the situations grow more complex, more new and unexpected from case to case, and more influenced by the individual's own reflection. And, indeed, from both the moral and the hedonistic standpoints and also from the standpoint of the level of efficiency of the individual and of the group, it is desirable to develop in the individuals the ability to control spontaneously their own activities by conscious reflection. To use a biological comparison, the type of control where the practitioner prescribes for the individual a scheme of activity appropriate to every crisis as it arises corresponds to the tropic or reflex type of control in animal life, where the activity of the individual is controlled mechanically by stimulations from without, while the reflective and individualistic control corresponds to the type of activity characteristic of the higher conscious organism, where the control is exercised from within by the selective mechanism of the nervous system. While, in the early tribal, communal, kinship, and religious groups, and to a large extent in the historic state, the society itself provided a rigoristic and particularistic set of definitions in the form of "customs" or "mores," the tendency to advance is associated with the liberty of the individual to make his own definitions.

We have assumed throughout this argument that if an adequate technique is developed it is possible to produce any desirable attitudes and values, but this assumption is practically justified only if we find in the individual attitudes which cannot avoid response to the class of stimulations which society is able to apply to him. And apparently we do find this disposition. Every individual has a vast variety of wishes which can be satisfied only by his incorpora-

tion in a society. Among his general patterns of wishes we may enumerate: (1) the desire for new experience, for fresh stimulations; (2) the desire for recognition, including, for example, sexual response and general social appreciation, and secured by devices ranging from the display of ornament to the demonstration of worth through scientific attainment; (3) the desire for mastery, or the "will to power," exemplified by ownership, domestic tyranny, political despotism, based on the instinct of hate, but capable of being sublimated to laudable ambition; (4) the desire for security, based on the instinct of fear and exemplified negatively by the wretchedness of the individual in perpetual solitude or under social taboo. Society is, indeed, an agent for the repression of many of the wishes in the individual; it demands that he shall be moral by repressing at least the wishes which are irreconcilable with the welfare of the group, but nevertheless it provides the only medium within which any of his schemes or wishes can be gratified. And it would be superfluous to point out by examples the degree to which society has in the past been able to impose its schemes of attitudes and values on the individual. Professor Sumner's volume, *Folkways*, is practically a collection of such examples, and, far from discouraging us as they discourage Professor Sumner, they should be regarded as proofs of the ability of the individual to conform to any definition, to accept any attitude, provided it is an expression of the public will or represents the appreciation of even a limited group. To take a single example from the present, to be a bastard or the mother of a bastard has been regarded heretofore as anything but desirable, but we have at this moment reports that one of the warring European nations is officially impregnating its unmarried women and girls and even married women whose husbands are at the front. If this is true (which we do

not assume) we have a new definition and a new evaluation of motherhood arising from the struggle of this society against death, and we may anticipate a new attitude—that the resulting children and their mothers will be the objects of extraordinary social appreciation. And even if we find that the attitudes are not so tractable as we have assumed, that it is not possible to provoke all the desirable ones, we shall still be in the same situation as, let us say, physics and mechanics: we shall have the problem of securing the highest degree of control possible in view of the nature of our materials.

As to the present work, it evidently cannot in any sense pretend to establish social theory on a definitely scientific basis. It is clear from the preceding discussion that many workers and much time will be needed before we free ourselves from the traditional ways of thinking, develop a completely efficient and exact working method, and reach a system of scientifically correct generalizations. Our present very limited task is the preparation of a certain body of materials, even if we occasionally go beyond it and attempt to reach some generalizations.

Our object-matter is one class of a modern society in the whole concrete complexity of its life. The selection of the Polish peasant society, motivated at first by somewhat incidental reasons, such as the intensity of the Polish immigration and the facility of getting materials concerning the Polish peasant, has proved during the investigation to be a fortunate one. The Polish peasant finds himself now in a period of transition from the old forms of social organization that had been in force, with only insignificant changes, for many centuries, to a modern form of life. He has preserved enough of the old attitudes to make their sociological reconstruction possible, and he is sufficiently

advanced upon the new way to make a study of the development of modern attitudes particularly fruitful. He has been invited by the upper classes to collaborate in the construction of Polish national life, and in certain lines his development is due to the conscious educational efforts of his leaders—the nobility, the clergy, the middle class. In this respect he has the value of an experiment in social technique; the successes, as well as the failures, of this educational activity of the upper classes are very significant for social work. These efforts of the upper classes themselves have a particular sociological importance in view of the conditions in which Polish society has lived during the last century. As a society without a state, divided among three states and constantly hampered in all its efforts to preserve and develop a distinct and unique cultural life, it faced a dilemma—either to disappear or to create such substitutes for a state organization as would enable it to resist the destructive action of the oppressing states; or, more generally, to exist without the framework of a state. These substitutes were created, and they are interesting in two respects. First, they show, in an exceptionally intensified and to a large extent isolated form, the action of certain factors of social unity which exist in every society but in normal conditions are subordinated to the state organization and seldom sufficiently accounted for in sociological reflection. Secondly, the lack of permanence of every social institution and the insecurity of every social value in general, resulting from the destructive tendencies of the dominating foreign states, bring with them a necessity of developing and keeping constantly alive all the activities needed to reconstruct again and again every value that had been destroyed. The whole mechanism of social creation is therefore here particularly transparent and easy to understand, and in general the rôle of human attitudes in social

life becomes much more evident than in a society not living under the same strain, but able to rely to a large extent upon the inherited formal organization for the preservation of its culture and unity.

We use in this work the inductive method in a form which gives the least possible place for any arbitrary statements. The basis of the work is concrete materials, and only in the selection of these materials some necessary discrimination has been used. But even here we have tried to proceed in the most cautious way possible. The private letters constituting the first two volumes have needed relatively little selection, particularly as they are arranged in family series. Our task has been limited to the exclusion of such letters from among the whole collection as contained nothing but a repetition of situations and attitudes more completely represented in the materials which we publish here. In later volumes the selection can be more severe, as far as the conclusions of the preceding volumes can be used for guidance.

The analysis of the attitudes and characters given in notes to particular letters and in introductions to particular series contains nothing not essentially contained in the materials themselves; its task is only to isolate single attitudes, to show their analogies and dependences, and to interpret them in relation to the social background upon which they appear. Our acquaintance with the Polish society simply helps us in noting data and relations which would perhaps not be noticed so easily by one not immediately acquainted with the life of the group.

Finally, the synthesis constituting the introductions to particular volumes is also based upon the materials, with a few exceptions where it was thought necessary to draw some data from Polish ethnological publications or systematic studies. The sources are always quoted.

The general character of the work is mainly that of a systematization and classification of attitudes and values prevailing in a concrete group. Every attitude and every value, as we have said above, can be really understood only in connection with the whole social life of which it is an element, and therefore this method is the only one that gives us a full and systematic acquaintance with all the complexity of social life. But it is evident that this monograph must be followed by many others if we want our acquaintance with social reality to be complete. Other Slavic groups, particularly the Russians; the French and the Germans, as representing different types of more efficient societies; the Americans, as the most conspicuous experiment in individualism; the Jews, as representing particular social adaptations under peculiar social pressures; the Oriental, with his widely divergent attitudes and values; the Negro, with his lower cultural level and unique social position—these and other social groups should be included in a series of monographs, which in its totality will give for the first time a wide and secure basis for any sociological generalizations whatever. Naturally the value of every monograph will increase with the development of the work, for not only will the method continually improve, but every social group will help to understand every other.

In selecting the monographic method for the present work and in urging the desirability of the further preparation of large bodies of materials representing the total life of different social groups, we do not ignore the other method of approaching a scientific social theory and practice—the study of special problems, of isolated aspects of social life. And we are not obliged even to wait until all the societies have been studied monographically, in their whole concrete reality, before beginning the comparative study of particular problems. Indeed, the study of a single society, as we have

undertaken it here, is often enough to show what rôle is played by a particular class of phenomena in the total life of a group and to give us in this way sufficient indications for the isolation of this class from its social context without omitting any important interaction that may exist between phenomena of this class and others, and we can then use these indications in taking the corresponding kinds of phenomena in other societies as objects of comparative research.

By way of examples, we point out here certain problems suggested to us by the study of the Polish peasants for which this study affords a good starting-point:[1]

1. *The problem of individualization.*—How far is individualization compatible with social cohesion? What are the forms of individualization that can be considered socially useful or socially harmful? What are the forms of social organization that allow for the greatest amount of individualism?

We have been led to the suppositions that, generally speaking, individualization is the intermediary stage between one form of social organization and another; that its social usefulness depends on its more or less constructive character —that is, upon the question whether it does really lead to a new organization and whether the latter makes the social group more capable of resisting disintegrating influences; and that, finally, an organization based upon a conscious co-operation in view of a common aim is the most compatible with individualism. The verification of these suppositions and their application to concrete problems of such a society as the American would constitute a grateful work.

2. *The problem of efficiency.*—Relation between individual and social efficiency. Dependence of efficiency upon various

[1] Points 2 and 8 following are more directly connected with materials on the middle and upper classes of Polish society which do not appear in the present work.

individual attitudes and upon various forms of social organization.

The Polish society shows in most lines of activity a particularly large range of variation of individual efficiency with a relatively low scale of social efficiency. We have come to the conclusion that both phenomena are due to the lack of a sufficiently persistent and detailed frame of social organization, resulting from the loss of state-independence. Under these conditions individual efficiency depends upon individual attitudes much more than upon social conditions. An individual may be very efficient because there is little to hinder his activity in any line he selects, but he may also be very inefficient because there is little to push him or to help him. The total social result of individual activities under these conditions is relatively small, because social efficiency depends, not only on the average efficiency of the individuals that constitute the group, but also on the more or less perfect organization of individual efforts. Here, again, the application of these conclusions to other societies can open the way to important discoveries in this particular sphere by showing what is the way of conciliating the highest individual with the highest social efficiency.

3. *The problem of abnormality—crime, vagabondage, prostitution, alcoholism, etc.*—How far is abnormality the unavoidable manifestation of inborn tendencies of the individual, and how far is it due to social conditions?

The priests in Poland have a theory with regard to their peasant parishioners that there are no incorrigible individuals, provided that the influence exercised upon them is skilful and steady and draws into play all of the social factors—familial solidarity, social opinion of the community, religion and magic, economic and intellectual motives, etc. And in his recent book on *The Individual Delinquent*, Dr. William Healy touches the problem on the

same side in the following remark: "Frequently one wonders what might have been accomplished with this or that individual if he had received a more adequate discipline during his childhood." By our investigation of abnormal attitudes in connection with normal attitudes instead of treating them isolately, and by the recognition that the individual can be fully understood and controlled only if all the influences of his environment are properly taken into account, we could hardly avoid the suggestion that abnormality is mainly, if not exclusively, a matter of deficient social organization. There is hardly any human attitude which, if properly controlled and directed, could not be used in a socially productive way. Of course there must always remain a quantitative difference of efficiency between individuals, often a very far-going one, but we can see no reason for a permanent qualitative difference between socially normal and antisocial actions. And from this standpoint the question of the antisocial individual assumes no longer the form of the right of society to protection, but that of the right of the antisocial individual to be made useful.

4. *The occupational problem.*—The modern division and organization of labor brings an enormous and continually growing quantitative prevalence of occupations which are almost completely devoid of stimulation and therefore present little interest for the workman. This fact necessarily affects human happiness profoundly, and, if only for this reason, the restoration of stimulation to labor is among the most important problems confronting society. The present industrial organization tends also to develop a type of human being as abnormal in its way as the opposite type of individual who gets the full amount of occupational stimulation by taking a line of interest destructive of social order—the criminal or vagabond. If the latter type of

abnormality is immediately dangerous for the present state of society, the former is more menacing for the future, as leading to a gradual but certain degeneration of the human type—whether we regard this degeneration as congenital or acquired.

The analysis of this problem discloses very profound and general causes of the evil, but also the way of an eventual remedy. It is a fact too well known to be emphasized that modern organization of labor is based on an almost absolute prevalence of economic interests—more exactly, on the tendency to produce or acquire the highest possible amount of economic values—either because these interests are actually so universal and predominant or because they express themselves in social organization more easily than others—a point to be investigated. The moralist complains of the materialization of men and expects a change of the social organization to be brought about by moral or religious preaching; the economic determinist considers the whole social organization as conditioned fundamentally and necessarily by economic factors and expects an improvement exclusively from a possible historically necessary modification of the economic organization itself. From the sociological viewpoint the problem looks much more serious and objective than the moralist conceives it, but much less limited and determined than it appears to the economic determinist. The economic interests are only one class of human attitudes among others, and every attitude can be modified by an adequate social technique. The interest in the nature of work is frequently as strong as, or stronger than, the interest in the economic results of the work, and often finds an objective expression in spite of the fact that actual social organization has little place for it. The protests, in fact, represented by William Morris mean that a certain class of work has visibly passed from the stage

where it was stimulating to a stage where it is not—that the handicrafts formerly expressed an interest in the work itself rather than in the economic returns from the work. Since every attitude tends to influence social institutions, we may expect that, with the help of social technique, an organization and a division of labor based on occupational interests may gradually replace the present organization based on demands of economic productivity. In other words, with the appropriate change of attitudes and values all work may become artistic work.

5. *The relation of the sexes.*—Among the many problems falling under this head two seem to us of fundamental importance, the first mainly socio-psychological, the second mainly sociological: (1) In the relation between the sexes how can a maximum of reciprocal response be obtained with the minimum of interference with personal interests? (2) How is the general social efficiency of a group affected by the various systems of relations between man and woman?

We do not advance at this point any definite theories. A number of interesting concrete points will appear in the later volumes of our materials. But a few suggestions of a general character arise in connection with the study of a concrete society. In matters of reciprocal response we find among the Polish peasants the sexes equally dependent on each other, though their demands are of a rather limited and unromantic character, while at the same time this response is secured at the cost of a complete subordination of their personalities to a common sphere of group-interests. When the development of personal interests begins, this original harmony is disturbed, and the disharmony is particularly marked among the immigrants in America, where it often leads to a complete and radical disorganization of family life. There does not seem to be as yet any real solution in view. In this respect the situation of the Polish peasants may throw

an interesting light upon the general situation of the cultivated classes of modern society. The difference between these two situations lies in the fact that among the peasants both man and woman begin almost simultaneously to develop personal claims, whereas in the cultivated classes the personal claims of the man have been developed and in a large measure satisfied long ago, and the present problem is almost exclusively limited to the woman. The situations are analogous, however, in so far as the difficulty of solution is concerned.

With regard to social efficiency, our Polish materials tend to show that, under conditions in which the activities of the woman can attain an objective importance more or less equal to those of the man, the greatest social efficiency is attained by a systematic collaboration of man and woman in external fields rather than by a division of tasks which limits the woman to "home and children." The line along which the peasant class of Polish society is particularly efficient is economic development and co-operation; and precisely in this line the collaboration of women has been particularly wide and successful. As far as a division of labor based upon differences of the sexes is concerned, there seems to be at least one point at which a certain differentiation of tasks would be at present in accordance with the demands of social efficiency. The woman shows a particular aptitude of mediation between the formalism, uniformity, and permanence of social organization and the concrete, various, and changing individualities. And, whether this ability of the woman is congenital or produced by cultural conditions, it could certainly be made socially very useful, for it is precisely the ability required to diminish the innumerable and continually growing frictions resulting from the misadaptations of individual attitudes to social organization, and to avoid the incalculable waste of human

energy which contrasts so deplorably in our modern society with our increasingly efficient use of natural energies.

6. *The problem of social happiness.*—With regard to this problem we can hardly make any positive suggestions. It is certain that both the relation of the sexes and the economic situation are among the fundamental conditions of human happiness, in the sense of making it and of spoiling it. But the striking point is that, aside from abstract philosophical discussion and some popular psychological analysis, the problem of happiness has never been seriously studied since the epoch of Greek hedonism, and of course the conclusions reached by the Greeks, even if they were more scientific than they really are, could hardly be applied to the present time, with its completely changed social conditions. Has this problem been so much neglected because of its difficulty or because, under the influence of certain tendencies immanent in Christianity, happiness is still half-instinctively regarded as more or less sinful, and pain as meritorious? However that may be, the fact is that no things of real significance have been said up to the present about happiness, particularly if we compare them with the enormous material that has been collected and the innumerable important ideas that have been expressed concerning unhappiness. Moreover, we believe that the problem merits a very particular consideration, both from the theoretical and from the practical point of view, and that the sociological method outlined above gives the most reliable way of studying it.

7. *The problem of the fight of races (nationalities) and cultures.*—Probably in this respect no study of any other society can give so interesting sociological indications as the study of the Poles. Surrounded by peoples of various degrees of cultural development—Germans, Austrians, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Russians, Lithuanians—having

on her own territory the highest percentage of the most unassimilable of races, the Jews, Poland is fighting at every moment for the preservation of her racial and cultural status. Moreover, the fight assumes the most various forms: self-defense against oppressive measures promulgated by Russia and Germany in the interest of their respective races and cultures; self-defense against the peaceful intrusion of the Austrian culture in Galicia; the problem of the assimilation of foreign colonists—German or Russian; the political fight against the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia; peaceful propaganda and efforts to maintain the supremacy of Polish culture on the vast territory between the Baltic and the Black seas (populated mainly by Lithuanians, White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians), where the Poles constitute the cultivated minority of estate-owners and intellectual bourgeoisie; various methods of dealing with the Jews—passive toleration, efforts to assimilate them nationally (not religiously), social and economic boycott. All these ways of fighting develop the greatest possible variety of attitudes.

And the problem itself assumes a particular actual importance if we remember that the present war is a fight of races and cultures, which has assumed the form of war because races and cultures have expressed themselves in the modern state-organization. The fight of races and cultures is the predominant fact of modern historical life, and it must assume the form of war when it uses the present form of state-organization as its means. To stop wars one must either stop the fight of races and cultures by the introduction of new schemes of attitudes and values or substitute for the isolated national state as instrument of cultural expansion some other type of organization.

8. Closely connected with the foregoing is *the problem of an ideal organization of culture.* This is the widest and

oldest sociological problem, lying on the border between theory and practice. Is there one perfect form of organization that would unify the widest individualism and the strongest social cohesion, that would exclude any abnormality by making use of all human tendencies, that would harmonize the highest efficiency with the greatest happiness? And, if one and only one such organization is possible, will it come automatically, as a result of the fight between cultures and as an expression of the law of the survival of the fittest, so that finally "the world's history will prove the world's tribunal"? Or must such an organization be brought about by a conscious and rational social technique modifying the historical conditions and subordinating all the cultural differences to one perfect system? Or is there, on the contrary, no such unique ideal possible? Perhaps there are many forms of a perfect organization of society, and, the differentiation of national cultures being impossible to overcome, every nation should simply try to bring its own system to the greatest possible perfection, profiting by the experiences of others, but not imitating them. In this case the fight of races and cultures could be stopped, not by the destruction of historical differences, but by the recognition of their value for the world and by a growing reciprocal acquaintance and estimation. Whatever may be the ultimate solution of this problem, it is evident that the systematic sociological study of various cultures, as outlined in this note and exemplified in its beginnings in the main body of the work, is the only way to solve it.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUMES I AND II

THE PEASANT FAMILY

The Polish peasant family, in the primary and larger sense of the word, is a social group including all the blood- and law-relatives up to a certain variable limit—usually the fourth degree. The family in the narrower sense, including only the married pair with their children, may be termed the "marriage-group." These two conceptions, family-group and marriage-group, are indispensable to an understanding of the familial life.

The family cannot be represented by a genealogical tree because it includes law-relationship and because it is a strictly social, concrete, living group—not a religious, mythical, heraldic, or economic formation. The cult of ancestors is completely lacking; the religious attention to the dead is practically the same whoever the dead family member—whether father, brother, husband, or son. We find, indeed, certain legends connected with family names, especially if many persons of the same name live in one locality, but these have little influence on the family life. Heraldic considerations have some place among the peasant nobility and in certain villages where the peasants were granted various privileges in earlier times, but the social connection based upon these considerations is not only looser than the real familial connection, but of a different type. We shall speak again of this type of organization in connection with class-distinctions and the class-problem. Finally, there seems to be a certain economic basis of familial continuity in the idea of ancestral land; but we shall see that the importance of this idea is derived partly from the familial organization itself, partly from communal life.

In short, the idea of common origin does not determine the unity of the familial group, but the concrete unity of the group does determine how far the common origin will be traced. Common descent determines, indeed, the unity of the group, but only by virtue of associational ties established within each new generation. And if we find examples in which common origin is invoked as a reason for keeping or establishing a connection, it is a sign that the primitive unity is in decay, while the sentiments corresponding with this unity still persist in certain individuals who attempt to reconstruct consciously the former state of things and use the idea of community of origin as an argument, just as it has been used as an explanation in the theories of family and for the same reason—because it is the simplest rational scheme of the familial relation. But, as we shall see, it is too simple an explanation.

The adequate scheme would represent the family as a plurality of nuclei, each of them constituted by a marriage-group and relations radiating from each of them toward other marriage-groups and single members, up, down, and on both sides, and toward older, younger, and collateral generations of both husband and wife. But it must be kept in mind that these nuclei are neither equally consistent within themselves nor equally important with regard to their connection with others at any given moment, and that they are not static, but evolving (in a normal family) toward greater consistency and greater importance. The nucleus only begins to constitute itself at the moment of marriage, for then the relations between husband and wife are less close than those uniting each of them to the corresponding nuclei of which they were members; the nucleus has the greatest relative consistency and importance when it is the oldest living married couple with the greatest number of children and grandchildren. Each nucleus is a center around which

a circle may be drawn including all the relatives on both sides up to, let us say, the fourth degree. Abstractly speaking, any marriage-group may be thus selected as center of the family, and the composition of the latter will of course vary accordingly; we shall have as many partly interfering, partly different families as there are marriage-groups. But actually among all these family-groups some are socially more real than others, as is shown by the fact that they behave more consistently as units with regard to the rest of the community. For example, from the standpoint of a newly married couple the relatives of the wife in the fourth degree may belong to the family, but they do not belong to it from the standpoint of the husband's parents, and it is the latter standpoint which is socially more important and the one assumed by the community, so long at least as the parents are alive. After their death, and when the married couple grows old, its standpoint becomes dominant and is adopted by the community. But at the same time the husband usually has brothers and sisters who, when married, constitute also secondary centers, and these centers become also primary in the course of time, and thus the family slowly divides and re-forms itself.

The family is thus a very complex group, with limits only approximately determined and with very various kinds and degrees of relationship between its members. But the fundamental familial connection is one and irreducible; it cannot be converted into any other type of group-relationship nor reduced to a personal relation between otherwise isolated individuals. It may be termed *familial solidarity*, and it manifests itself both in assistance rendered to, and in control exerted over, any member of the group by any other member representing the group as a whole. It is totally different from territorial, religious, economic, or national solidarity, though evidently these are additional

bonds promoting familial solidarity, and we shall see presently that any dissolution of them certainly exerts a dissolving influence upon the family. And again, the familial solidarity and the degree of assistance and of control involved should not depend upon the personal character of the members, but only upon the kind and degree of their relationship; the familial relation between two members admits no gradation, as does love or friendship.

In this light all the familial relations in their ideal form, that is, as they would be if there were no progressive disintegration of the family, become perfectly plain.

The relation of husband and wife is controlled by both the united families, and husband and wife are not individuals more or less closely connected according to their personal sentiments, but group-members connected absolutely in a single way. Therefore the marriage norm is not love, but "respect," as the relation which can be controlled and reinforced by the family, and which corresponds also exactly to the situation of the other party as member of a group and representing the dignity of that group. The norm of respect from wife to husband includes obedience, fidelity, care for the husband's comfort and health; from husband to wife, good treatment, fidelity, not letting the wife do hired work if it is not indispensable. In general, neither husband nor wife ought to do anything which could lower the social standing of the other, since this would lead to a lowering of the social standing of the other's family. Affection is not explicitly included in the norm of respect, but is desirable. As to sexual love, it is a purely personal matter, is not and ought not to be socialized in any form; the family purposely ignores it, and the slightest indecency or indiscreetness with regard to sexual relations in marriage is viewed with disgust and is morally condemned.

The familial assistance to the young married people is given in the form of the dowry, which they both receive. Though the parents usually give the dowry, a grandfather or grandmother, brother, or uncle may just as well endow the boy or the girl or help to do so. This shows the familial character of the institution, and this character is still more manifest if we recognize that the dowry is not in the full sense the property of the married couple. It remains a part of the general familial property to the extent that the married couple remains a part of the family. The fact that, not the future husband and wife, but their families, represented by their parents and by the matchmakers, come to an understanding on this point is another proof of this relative community of property. The assistance must assume the form of dowry simply because the married couple, composed of members of two different families, must to some extent isolate itself from one or the other of these families; but the isolation is not an individualization, it is only an addition of some new familial ties to the old ones, a beginning of a new nucleus.

The relation of parents to children is also determined by the familial organization. The parental authority is complex. It is, first, the right of control which they exercise as members of the group over other members, but naturally the control is unusually strong in this case because of the particularly intimate relationship. But it is more than this. The parents are privileged representatives of the group as a whole, backed by every other member in the exertion of their authority, but also responsible before the group for their actions. The power of this authority is really great; a rebellious child finds nowhere any help, not even in the younger generation, for every member of the family will side with the child's parents if he considers them right, and everyone will feel the familial will behind him and will play

the part of a representative of the group. On the other hand, the responsibility of the parents to the familial group is very clear in every case of undue severity or of too great leniency on their part. And in two cases the family always assumes active control—when a stepchild is mistreated or when a mother is left alone with boys, whom she is assumed to be unable to educate suitably. When the children grow up the family controls the attitude of the parents in economic matters and in the problem of marriage. The parents are morally obliged to endow their children as well as they can, simply because they are not full and exclusive proprietors but rather managers of their inherited property. This property has been constituted mainly by the father's and mother's dowries, which are still parts of the respective familial properties, and the rest of the family retains a right of control. Even if the fortune has been earned individually by the father, the traditional familial form applies to it more or less. Finally, being a manager rather than a proprietor, the father naturally has to retire when his son (usually the oldest) becomes more able than he to manage the main bulk of the property—the farm. The custom of retiring is therefore rooted in the familial organization, and the opinion of the familial group obliges the old people to retire even if they hesitate. In the matter of marriage the parents, while usually selecting their child's partner, must take into consideration, not only the child's will, but also the opinion of other members of the family. The consideration of the child's will results, not from a respect for the individual, but from the fact that the child is a member whose importance in the family will continually grow after his marriage. Regard for the opinion of other members of the family is clearly indispensable, since through marriage a new member will be brought into the family and through his agency a connection will be established with another family.

On the other hand, the attitude of the children toward the parents is also to be explained only on the ground of a larger familial group of which they are all members. The child comes to exercise a control over the parents, not conditioned by any individual achievements on his part, but merely by the growth of his importance within the family-group. In this respect the boy's position is always more important than the girl's, because the boy will be the head of a future marriage-group and because he is the presumptive manager of a part of the familial fortune. Thence his greater independence, or rather his greater right to control his parents. In a boy's life there are four (in the girl's life usually only three) periods of gradually increasing familial importance: early childhood, before the beginning of man's work; after the beginning of man's work until marriage; after marriage until the parents' retirement; after the parents' retirement. In the first period the boy has no right of control at all; the control is exerted on his behalf by the family. In the second period he cannot dispose of the money which he earns (it is not a matter of property, but of management) and is obliged to give it to his father to manage, but he has the right to control his father in this management and to appeal, if necessary, to the rest of the family. In the third period he manages his part of the fortune under the familial control and has the right to control his father's management of the remainder; he is almost equal to his father. In the last period (which the woman does not attain) he takes the father's place as head manager. And the management of property is only the clearest manifestation of a general independence. Thus, in questions of marriage the choice is free at a later age, and becomes almost completely free in the second marriage. But evidently by freedom we mean only independence of the special control of the parents as representatives of the

group, not freedom from a general control of the group or of any of its members.

As the parents are obliged to assist the children in proportion to their right to exert authority, so the children's duty of assistance is proportional to their right of control. Helping in housework and turning over to the family money earned is not assistance, but the duty of keeping and increasing the familial fortune. Assistance may begin indeed at the second stage (the boy doing man's work), but then it is expressly stated that a given sum of money, for example, is destined to cover personal expenses of the parents, and in this case it is difficult to determine whether we have still the primitive familial organization or a certain individualization of relations. In short, at this stage simple familial communism in economic matters and familial assistance are not sufficiently differentiated. But the differentiation is complete in the third stage, after marriage. If the married son or daughter is in a better position than the parents, help is perfectly natural, and it is plainly help, not communism, to the degree that the division of property is real. In the last stage, when the parents have retired, assistance becomes the fundamental attitude; and it is now a consciously moral duty powerfully reinforced by the opinion of the familial group.

In all the relations between parents and children the familial organization leaves no place for merely personal affection. Certainly this affection exists, but it cannot express itself in socially sanctioned acts. The behavior of the parents toward the children and the contrary must be determined exclusively by their situations as family members, not by individual merits or preferences. The only justification at least, on either side, of any behavior not determined by the familial situation is a preceding break of the familial principle by one of the members in question.

Thus, the parents usually prefer one child to the others, but this preference should be based upon a familial superiority. The preferred child is usually the one who for some reason is to take the parental farm (the oldest son in Central Poland; the youngest son in the mountainous districts of the south; any son who stays at home while others emigrate), or it is the child who is most likely to raise by his personal qualities the social standing of the family. And, on the contrary, a voluntary isolation from the family life, any harm brought to the family-group, a break of familial solidarity, are sufficient reasons, and the only sufficient ones, for treating a child worse than others and even, in extreme cases, for disowning it. In the same way the children are justified in neglecting the bonds of solidarity which unite them with their parents only if the latter sin against the familial spirit, for example, if a widower (or widow) contracts a new marriage in old age and in such a way that, instead of assimilating his wife to his own family, he becomes assimilated to hers.

The relation between brothers and sisters assumes a different form after the death of the parents. As long as the parents are alive the solidarity between children is rather mediate; the connection between parents and children is much closer than the connection between brothers and sisters, because neither relation is merely personal, and the parents represent the familial idea. In a normal familial organization, therefore, in any struggle between parents and child other children side with the parents, particularly older children, who understand fully the familial solidarity, unless, of course, the parents have broken this solidarity first. But if the parents are dead, the relation between brothers and sisters becomes much closer; indeed, it is the closest familial relation which then remains. Thus the nucleus, constituted by the marriage-group, does not dissolve after

the death of the married couple; the group remains, and as a group it resists as far as possible any dissolving influences. It is true that the guardians take the place of the parents as representatives of the familial authority, but they remain outside the nucleus, while the parents were within it. This is one more proof that the familial organization is not patriarchal, or else the patriarchal organization would dissolve and assimilate this parentless group. And this phenomenon cannot be interpreted as a sign of solidarity of the young against the old, for among the brothers and sisters the older assume an attitude of authority, and in this case, as well as during the life of the parents, any member of the older generation has a right of control over all the members of the younger generation.

These general principles of control and of assistance within the narrower marriage-group and within the larger family, and from any member to any member, are reinforced, not only by the opinion of the family itself, but also by the opinion of the community (village, commune, parish, and loose-acquaintance milieu) within which the family lives. The reality of the familial ties once admitted, every member of the family evidently feels responsible for, and is held responsible for, the behavior and welfare of every other member, because, in peasant thinking, judgments upon the group as a whole are constantly made on the basis of the behavior of members of the family, and vice versa. On this account also between any two relatives, wherever found, an immediate nearness is assumed which normally leads to friendship.

In this connection it is noticeable that in primitive peasant life all the attitudes of social pride are primarily familial and only secondarily individual. When a family has lived from time immemorial in the same locality, when all its members for three or four generations are known or

remembered, every individual is classified first of all as belonging to the family, and appreciated according to the appreciation which the family enjoys, while on the other hand the social standing of the family is influenced by the social standing of its members, and no individual can rise or fall without drawing to some extent the group with him. And at the same time no individual can so rise or fall as to remove himself from the familial background upon which social opinion always puts him. In doing this social opinion presupposes the familial solidarity, but at the same time it helps to preserve and develop it.

As to the personal relations based upon familial connection, it can be said that the ideal of the familial organization would be a state of things in which all the members of the family were personal friends and had no friends outside of the family. This ideal is expressed even in the terminology of some localities, where the term "friend" is reserved for relatives. This does not mean that personal friendship or even acquaintance is necessary to the reality of the familial connection. On the contrary, when a personal relation is thought to be the condition of active solidarity, we have a sign of the disintegration of familial life.

An interesting point in the familial organization is the attitude of the woman. Generally speaking, the woman has the familial group-feelings much less developed than the man and tends unconsciously to substitute for them, wherever possible, personal feelings, adapted to the individuality of the family members. She wants her husband more exclusively for herself and is often jealous of his family; she has less consideration for the importance of the familial group as a whole and more sympathy with individual needs of its members; she often divides her love among her children without regard for their value to the family; she chooses her friends more under the influence of personal

factors. But this is only a matter of degree; the familial ideal is nowhere perfectly realized, and on the other hand no woman is devoid of familial group-feelings. Nevertheless, in the evolution of the family these traits of the woman certainly exert a disintegrating influence, both by helping to isolate smaller groups and by assisting family members in the process of individualization.

The organization here sketched is the general traditional basis of familial life, but actually we find it hardly anywhere in its full force. The familial life as given in the present materials is undergoing a profound disintegration along certain lines and under the influence of various factors. The main tendencies of this disintegration are: isolation of the marriage-group, and personal individualization. Although these processes sometimes follow each other and sometimes interact, they may also go on independently, and it is therefore better to consider them separately. There are, however, some common factors which, by leading simply to a disintegration of the traditional organization, leave the new form of familial life undetermined, and these may be treated first of all.

The traditional form of the Polish peasant family can evidently subsist only in an agricultural community, settled at least for four or five generations in the same locality and admitting no important changes of class, religion, nationality, or profession. As soon as these changes appear, a disintegration is imminent. The marriage-group or the individual enters into a community different from that in which the rest of the family lives, and sooner or later the old bonds must be weakened or broken. The last fifty years have brought many such social changes into the peasant life. Emigration into Polish cities, to America, and to Germany scatters the family. The same thing results from

the progressive proletairization of the inhabitants of the country, which obliges many farmers' sons and daughters to go to service or to buy "colonies" outside of their own district. The industrial development of the country leads to changes of profession. And, finally, there is a very rapid evolution of the Polish class-organization, and, thanks to this, peasants may pass into the new middle or at least lower middle class within one generation, thus effecting an almost complete break with the rest of the family. Changes of religion or nationality are indeed very rare, but, whenever they appear, their result is most radical and immediate.

In analyzing the effect of these changes we must take into consideration the problem of adaptation to the new conditions. Two points are here important: the facility of adaptation and the scale of adaptation. For example, the adaptation of a peasant moving to a Polish city as a workman is relatively easy, but its scale is small, while by emigrating to America or by rising in the social hierarchy he confronts a more difficult problem of adaptation, but the possible scale is incomparably wider.

The effect of these differences on family life is felt independently of the nature of the new forms of familial organization which the individual (or the marriage-group) may find in his new environment. Indeed, the adaptation seldom goes so far as to imitate the familial life of the new milieu, unless the individual marries within this milieu and is thus completely assimilated. The only familial organization imitated by the peasant who rises above his class is the agnatic organization of the Polish nobility. Except for these rare cases, the evolution of the family is due, not to the positive influence of any other forms of familial life, but merely to the isolation of marriage-groups and individuals and to the accompanying changes of attitude and personality in the presence of a new external world.

If this process is difficult or unsuccessful, the isolated individual or marriage-group will have a strong tendency to return to the old milieu and will particularly appreciate the familial solidarity through which, in spite of its imperfections, the struggle for existence is facilitated, though in a limited way. We say in a limited way, because familial solidarity is a help mainly for the weak, whom the family does not allow to fall below a certain minimal standard of life, while it becomes rather a burden for the strong. The result of an unsuccessful or difficult adaptation will therefore tend to be a conscious revival of familial feelings and even a certain idealization of familial relations. We find this attitude in many marriage-groups in South America and Siberia, among soldiers serving in the Russian army, and among a few unsuccessful workmen in America, in Western Europe, and even in Polish industrial centers.

If the process of adaptation is easy but limited—that is, if the scale of control which the individual can attain is narrow but easily attained (as is usually the case with workmen in Polish cities)—the result is more complicated. There is still the longing for the old conditions of life, but not so strong as to make the organization of life in the new conditions unbearable. The familial feelings still exist in their old strength, for the extra-familial social life does not give full satisfaction to the sociable tendencies of the individual, but the object of these familial feelings is reduced to the single marriage-group. When territorially isolated the marriage-group is also isolated from the traditional set of rules, valuations, and sentiments of the old community and family, and with the disappearance of these traditions the family becomes merely a natural organization based on personal connections between its members, and these connections are sufficient only to keep together a marriage-group, including perhaps occasionally a few near relatives—

the parents, brothers, or sisters of husband or wife. Under these circumstances, and with economic conditions sufficient to live but hardly to progress, we meet in towns and cities an exclusiveness and egotism in the marriage-group never found in the country. In the Polish towns the bourgeois type of familial organization tends to prevail among the lower classes—single, closed marriage-groups behaving toward the rest of society as indissoluble units, egotistic, often even mutually hostile. And, as we see from our materials, the constitution of such groups is favored and helped by the women. The woman appears as clearly hostile to any social relations of her husband in the new milieu, and thus tends to isolate the marriage-group from it; of the old familial relations she keeps only those based upon personal affection, and thus helps to eliminate the traditional element. Through her typical feeling of economic insecurity, resulting from her insufficient adaptation to the modern conditions of industrial life, she develops more than her husband the egotism of the marriage-group.

The third form of adaptation—an adaptation relatively easy and successful—gives birth to a particular kind of individualization, found among the bulk of young immigrants of both sexes in America and among many season-immigrants in Germany. The success of this adaptation—which should of course be measured by the standard of the immigrant, not of the country to which he comes—consists mainly in economic development and the growth of social influence. In both America and Germany this is due, in the first place, to the higher wages, but in democratic America the Polish social life gives the immigrant also a feeling of importance which in Polish communal life is the privilege of a few influential farmers. There is indeed no such field for the development of self-consciousness in Germany, but the emigrant returns every year with new

experience and new money to his native village, and thereby his social rôle is naturally enlarged. Formerly the individual counted mainly as member of a family; now he counts by himself, and still more than formerly. The family ceases to be necessary at all. It is not needed for assistance, because the individual gets on alone. It is not needed for the satisfaction of sociable tendencies, because these tendencies can be satisfied among friends and companions. A community of experience and a similarity of attitudes create a feeling of solidarity among the young generation as against the old generation, without regard to family connections. The social interests and the familial interests no longer coincide, but cross each other. Externally this stage is easily observable in Polish colonies in America and in Polish districts which have an old emigration. Young people keep constantly together, apart from the old, and "good company" becomes the main attraction, inducing the isolated emigrant to join his group in America or return to it at home, but at the same time drawing the boy or the girl from the home to the street.

The familial feelings do not indeed disappear entirely; the change which the individual undergoes is not profound enough for this. But the character of their manifestation changes. There is no longer an attitude of dependence on the family-group, and with the disappearance of this attitude the obligatory character of familial solidarity disappears also; but at the same time a new feeling of self-importance tends to manifest itself in an attitude of superiority with regard to other members of the group, and this superiority demands an active expression. The result is a curious, sometimes very far-going, sometimes whimsical, generosity which the individual shows toward single family members regardless of the validity of the claim which this member could put forward under the traditional familial

organization. This generosity is usually completely disinterested from the economic point of view; no return is expected. It is essentially an expression of personality, a satisfaction at once of personal affection and personal vanity. It is shown only toward persons whom ties of affection unite with the giver, sometimes toward friends who do not even belong to the family. Pity is a motive which strengthens it and sometimes is even sufficient in itself. Any allusion to obligation offends it. Often it is displayed in an unexpected way or at an unexpected moment, with the evident desire to provoke astonishment. It is the symptom of an expanding personality.

On the other hand, the unequal rate at which the process of individualization and the modification of traditional attitudes takes place in different family members leads often to disintegration of both the familial and the personal life. This is seen particularly in the relations of parents and children as it appears in emigration. When the boy leaves his family in Poland and comes to America, he at first raises no questions about the nature of his duties to his parents and family at home. He plans to send home all the money possible; he lives in the cheapest way and works the longest hours. He writes: "Dear Parents: I send you 300 roubles, and I will always send you as much as I can earn." He does not even feel this behavior as moral; and it is not moral, in the sense that it involves no reflection and no inhibition. It is unreflective social behavior. But if in the course of time he has established new and individualistic attitudes and desires, he writes: "Dear Parents: I will send money; only you ask too much." (See in this connection Butkowski series.)

But the most complete break between parents and children—one presenting itself every day in our juvenile courts—comes with the emigration of the family as a whole

to America. The children brought with the family or added to it in America do not acquire the traditional attitude of familial solidarity, but rather the American individualistic ideals, while the parents remain unchanged, and there frequently results a complete and painful antagonism between children and parents. This has various expressions, but perhaps the most definite one is economic—the demand of the parents for all the earnings of the child, and eventually as complete an avoidance as possible of the parents by the child. The mutual hate, the hardness, unreasonableness, and brutality of the parents, the contempt and ridicule of the child—ridicule of the speech and old-country habits and views of the parents—become almost incredible. The parents, for example, resort to the juvenile court, not as a means of reform, but as an instrument of vengeance; they will swear away the character of their girl, call her a "whore" and a "thief," when there is not the slightest ground for it. It is the same situation we shall note elsewhere when the peasant is unable to adjust his difficulties with his neighbors by social means and resorts to the courts as a pure expression of enmity, and with a total disregard of right or wrong. A case was recently brought before the juvenile court in Chicago which illustrates typically how completely the father may be unable to occupy any other standpoint than that of familial solidarity. The girl had left home and was on the streets. When appealed to by the court for suggestions and co-operation, the father always replied in terms of the wages of the girl—she had not been bringing her earnings home. And when it appeared that he could not completely control her in this respect, he said: "Do what you please with her. She ain't no use to me."

The last type of adaptation—one requiring much change, but giving also much control—is typically represented by the climbing tendency of the peasant and is always con-

nected with an intellectual development. This adaptation brings also the greatest changes in the familial sentiments. Individualization is the natural result of rising above the primitive group and becoming practically independent of it. But at the same time, unlike the preceding type, this form of adaptation leads to qualitative changes in the concept of the family. Indeed, the individual rises, not only above the family, but also above the community, and drops most of the traditional elements, and in this respect the result is analogous to that of the second type of adaptation. On the other hand he meets on this higher cultural level those more universal and conscious traditions which constitute the common content of Christian morality. The Christian elements were embodied in the system of peasant traditions, but they constituted only a part of the rich traditional stock, and their influence in peasant life was essentially different from that which the church as well as the popular Christian reflection wished it to be. Their power in peasant life was a power of social *custom*, while on a higher level of intellectual development and individualization they claim to be *rational norms*, directing the conscious individual morality. Thus, the familial attitudes of a peasant rising above his class undergo a double evolution: they are simplified, and they pass from the sphere of custom to that of conscious, reflective morality. Only a few fundamental obligations are acknowledged, and in the sphere of these obligations the "moral" family coincides neither with the "traditional" family nor with the "natural" family—the marriage-group. In its typical form it includes husband or wife, parents, children, brothers, and sisters. Its nucleus is no longer a group, but an individual. The husband has, for example, particular moral obligations toward his own parents, sisters, and brothers, but not toward the family of his wife. The moral obligations toward the members of the latter

do not differ from those toward any friends or acquaintances, are not particularly familial obligations. And the consistency of this moral family does not depend any longer upon social factors, but merely upon the moral development of the individual—assuming, of course, that the element of custom has been completely eliminated, which is seldom the case. We find individuals who feel the obligation as a heavy burden and try to drop it as soon as possible; we find others who accept it readily and treat the family as an object of moral obligation even after it has lost its social reality.

In distinguishing these four formal types of evolution of familial life we have of course abstractly isolated each of them and studied it in its fullest and most radical expression. In reality, however, we find innumerable intermediary and incomplete forms, and we must take this fact into consideration when examining the concrete materials.[1]

MARRIAGE

The Polish peasant family, as we have seen, is organized as a plurality of interrelated marriage-groups which are so many nuclei of familial life and whose importance is various

[1] The Polish terminology for familial relationship corroborates our definition of the family. We must distinguish, first of all, the use of familial names when speaking *to* a relative and *about* a relative to *strangers*. In the latter case the proper term is used, while in the first there is a tendency to substitute for it another term, indicating a much closer degree of relationship. When one is speaking *about* a relative *within* the family, both usages are possible.

The proper terms, i.e., those used when one is speaking about a relative to strangers, are of three kinds:

a) Terms which define a unique relation, such as *mąż* ("husband"), and *żona* ("wife"), *teść* ("father-in-law"), *ojciec* ("father"). Only the terms "husband" and "wife" remain unique when one is addressing a member of the family, while terms for blood-parents and blood-children are usually substituted for those which indicate a step- or law-relation of descent.

b) Terms which essentially define a unique relation, but can be extended to any relation of a certain degree. Such are, for example, *brat* ("brother"), *szwagier* ("brother-in-law"), *dziadek* ("grandfather"), *wuj* ("maternal uncle"), *stryj* ("paternal uncle"). Their original meaning is the same as that of the corresponding English terms, but they are applied also to remoter degrees of relationship. If exactness is required, they are defined by special adjectives, but habitually, up

and changing. The process of constitution and evolution of these nuclei is therefore the essential phenomenon of familial life. But at the same time there culminate in marriage many other interests of the peasant life, and we must take the rôle of these into consideration.

1. *Marriage from the familial standpoint.*—The whole familial system of attitudes involves absolutely the postulate of marriage for every member of the young generation. The family is a dynamic organization, and changes brought by birth, growth, marriage, and death have nothing of the incidental or unexpected, but are included as normal in the organization itself, continually accounted for and foreseen, and the whole practical life of the family is adapted to them. A person who does not marry within a certain time, as well as an old man who does not die at a certain age, provokes in the family-group an attitude of unfavorable astonishment; they seem to have stopped in the midst of a continuous movement, and they are passed by and left alone. There are, indeed, exceptions. A boy (or girl) with some physical or intellectual defect is not supposed to marry,

to the third and sometimes the fourth degree, no adjectives are required. Thus, a cousin of second degree is *stryjeczny*, *wujeczny*, or *cioteczny brat* ("brother through the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, or aunt"), or simply *brat;* a father's paternal uncle is *stryjeczny dziadek* ("grandfather through the paternal uncle"), or simply *dziadek*, and so on. A wife's or husband's relative may be determined in the same way, with the addition "of my wife" or "of my husband." But if no particular exactness is necessary, this qualification is also omitted, except for collateral members (of the same generation), where law-relationship is indicated by particular terms (*szwagier* instead of *brat*). In addressing a member, not only all the qualifications are omitted, but even for collateral members the terms "brother" and "sister" are often substituted for the special terms indicating law-relationship of any degree.

c) Terms which are merely class-names. Of these there are only two: *krewny* and *powinowaty*, "blood-" and "law-relative." They are never used in addressing a person, and in general their usage is limited to cases where the degree and kind of relationship is forgotten or when the speaker does not desire to initiate the stranger more exactly. The intelligent classes sometimes use the French word *cousin* (Polonized, *kuzyn*), but this custom has reached as yet only the lower middle class, not the peasant.

and in his early childhood a corresponding attitude is adopted by the family and a place for him is provided beforehand. His eventual marriage will then provoke the same unfavorable astonishment as the bachelorship of others.

The condemnation attached to not marrying is not so strong as that incurred by the omission of some elementary moral or religious duty, and with the growing complexity of social conditions cases are more and more frequent where a person remains unmarried through no fault of his own, and so the condemnation is becoming less and less. But the standard binds the parents of the marriageable person even more than the latter, and we see in many letters that the parents do not dare to put any obstacles in the way of the marriage of their child even if they foresee bad results for themselves from this marriage (estrangement of the child, or economic losses), and they persuade the child to marry even against their own interest. The contrary behavior (see Sekowski series) incurs immediate and strong social condemnation. The only limitation of this principle is the question of the choice of the partner. But even this limitation disappears when the parents have no certainty that a better match than the one proposed will be arranged. It is better to make a bad marriage than not to marry at all.

The traditional familial factor ceases to exert any influence upon the *second* marriage; no determined line of conduct is prescribed in this case by the familial organization except that marriage is viewed unfavorably after a certain age.

The family not only requires its members to be married, but directs their choice. This is neither tyranny nor self-interest on the part of the parents nor solicitude for the future of the child, but a logical consequence of the individual's situation in the familial group. The individual is a

match only as member of the group and owing to the social standing of the family within the community and to the protection and help in social and economic matters given by the family. He has therefore corresponding responsibilities; in marrying he must take, not only his own, but also the family's interests into consideration. These latter interests condition the choice of the partner in three respects:

a) The partner in marriage is an outsider who through marriage becomes a member of the family. The family therefore requires in this individual a personality which will fit easily into the group and be assimilated to the group with as little effort as possible. Not only a good character, but a set of habits similar to those prevailing in the family to be entered, is important. Sometimes the prospective partner is unknown to the family, sometimes even unknown to the marrying member of the family, and in this case social guaranties are demanded. The boy or girl ought to come at least from a good family, belonging to the same class as the family to be entered, and settled if possible in the same district, since customs and habits differ from locality to locality. The occupation of a boy ought to be of such a kind as not to develop any undesirable, that is, unassimilable, traits. A girl should have lived at home and should not have done hired work habitually. A man should never have an occupation against which a prejudice exists in the community. In this matter there is still another motive of selection, that is, vanity. Finally, a widow or a widower is an undesirable partner, because more difficult to assimilate than a young girl or boy. If not only the future partner, but even his family, is unknown, the parents, or someone in their place, will try to get acquainted personally with some of his relatives, in order to inspect the general type of their character and behavior. Thence comes the frequent custom of arranging marriages through friends and

relatives. This form of matchmaking is intermediary between the one in which the starting-point is personal acquaintance and the other in which the connection with a certain family is sought first through the *swaty* (professional matchmaker) and personal acquaintance comes later. In this intermediary form the starting-point is the friendship with relatives of the boy or the girl. It is supposed that the future partner resembles his relatives in character, and at the same time that the family to which those relatives belong is worth being connected with. But this leads us to the second aspect of the familial control of marriage.

b) The candidate for marriage belongs himself to a family, which through marriage will become connected with that of his wife. The familial group therefore assumes the right to control the choice of its member, not only with regard to the personal qualities of the future partner, but also with regard to the nature of the group with which it will be allied. The standing of the group within the community is here the basis of selection. This standing itself is conditioned by various factors—wealth, morality, intelligence, instruction, religiousness, political and social influence, connection with higher classes, solidarity between the family members, kind of occupation, numerousness of the family, its more or less ancient residence in the locality, etc. Every family naturally tries to make the best possible alliance; at the same time it tries not to lower its own dignity by risking a refusal or by accepting at once even the best match and thereby showing too great eagerness. Thence the long selection and hesitation, real or pretended, on both sides, while the problem is not to discourage any possible match, for the range of possibilities open to an individual is a proof of the high standing of the family. Thence also such institutions as that of the matchmaker, whose task is

to shorten the ceremonial of choosing without apparently lowering the dignity of the families involved. The relative freedom given to the individuals themselves, the apparent yielding to individual love, has in many cases its source in the desire to shorten the process of selection by shifting the responsibility from the group to the individual. In the traditional formal *swaty* is embodied this familial control of marriage. The young man, accompanied by the matchmaker, visits the families with which his family has judged it desirable to be allied, and only among these can he select a girl. He is received by the parents of the girl, who first learn everything about him and his family and then encourage him to call further or reject him at once. And the girl can select a suitor only among those encouraged by her family.

c) A particular situation is created when widow or widower with children from the first marriage is involved. Here assimilation is very difficult, because no longer an individual, but a part of a strange marriage-group, has to be assimilated. At the same time the connection with the widow's or widower's family will be incomplete, because the family of the first husband or wife also has some claims. Therefore such a marriage is not viewed favorably, and there must be some real social superiority of the future partner and his or her family in order to counterbalance the inferiority caused by the peculiar familial situation. A second marriage is thus usually one which, if it were the first, would be a mesalliance.

With the disintegration of the familial life there must come, of course, a certain liberation from the familial claims in matters of marriage. But this liberation itself may assume various forms. With regard to the personal qualities of his future wife, the man may neglect to consult his family and still apply the same principles of appreciation which his

family would apply—select a person whose character and habits resemble the type prevailing in his own family, a person whose relatives he knows, who comes perhaps from the same locality, etc. Therefore, for example, immigrants in America whose individualization has only begun always try to marry boys or girls fresh from the old country, if possible from their own native village.

A second degree of individualization manifests itself in a more reasoned selection of such qualities as the individual wishes his future mate to possess in view of his own personal happiness and regardless of the family's desire. This type of selection prevails, for example, in most of the second marriages, when the individual has become fully conscious of what he desires from his eventual partner and when the feeling of his own importance, increasing with age, teaches him to neglect the possible protests of his family. It is also a frequent type in towns, where the individual associates with persons of various origins and habits. The typical and universal argument opposed here against any familial protests has the content: "I shall live with this person, not you, so it is none of your business."

Finally, the highest form of individualization is found in the real love-marriage. While a reasoned determination of the qualities which the individual wishes to find in his future mate permits of some discussion, some familial control, and some influence of tradition, in the love-marriage every possibility of control is rejected a priori. Here, under the influence of the moment, the largest opportunity is given for matches between individuals whose social determinism differs most widely, though this difference is after all usually not very great, since the feeling of love requires a certain community of social traditions.

2. *Marriage from the standpoint of other social groups: territorial (community), national, religious, professional.*—

The claims which the community has upon the individual in matters of marriage corroborate those of the family-group to the extent that every individual (except a future priest) is required to marry, if he is not hindered by a physical or an intellectual defect. The community demands from its members a steadiness of life which is necessary for its interior harmony; but a peasant individual can acquire this steadiness only after his marriage. The life of an unmarried man or woman bears essentially an unfixed character. A single person, as we know, cannot remain indefinitely with his family, for the latter is organized in view of the marriage of all of its members. He cannot carry on normal occupational activity alone—cannot farm or keep a small shop—he can be either only a hired laborer, living with strangers, or a servant. In both cases the sphere of his interests is much narrower than that of a married couple and his life has less fixity. A single person does not take an equal share with married couples in the life of the community; there is little opportunity for a reciprocity of services, still less for co-operation. He cannot even keep a house, receive, give entertainments, etc. He has nobody to provide for, no reason to economize. All these features of single life tend to develop either a spirit of revelry, vagabondage, and pauperism, or an egotistic isolation within a circle of personal interests—both opposed to the fundamental set of peasant attitudes and undesirable for the group.

Accordingly, the community gives a positive sanction to the marriage of its members. This is done in three ways: (1) Each wedding is a social event in itself, not limited to the families who intermarry, but participated in by the community, and the pleasure of being for some days the center of interest of the community is a strong motive in favor of marriage. (2) The community gives a

higher social standing to its married members: after marriage they are addressed as "you" instead of "thou," they begin to play an active part in the commune, in the parish, in associations, etc. Unmarried individuals have a certain kind of social standing as members of families and prospective matches, but this kind of a standing decreases with age. (3) The private life of married couples is much less controlled by the community than that of unmarried persons. The control of the family in normal conditions is thought perfectly sufficient for the first; the community interferes only in extraordinary cases of important familial misunderstandings. But an individual who does not marry in due time is supposed not to be sufficiently controlled by the family, and the community allows him no privacy.

But the community, as a territorial group, assumes also a right to control the choice of its members whenever the question is raised of taking a partner from a different territorial group. The same right is claimed by the professional, the national, the religious groups, which usually do not interfere with the celibacy of their members nor with their marriage so long as this remains endogamous. In this respect the claims of these groups are different from the claims of the family, and may even be contradictory.

First of all, an individual can belong at once to two families, but not normally to two territorial, professional, national, or religious groups. This leads to important differences of standpoint.

Let us take first the case of a member of a social group who, by marriage, passes into a different group—moves to another locality, takes a new profession, changes his nationality or his religion. For the family such a fact may be more or less unpleasant, but only on account of the divergence of

attitudes which thus arises between its members; but the individual who has passed into another social group is not necessarily lost; he may remain (if there are no other factors of disintegration) a real, solidary member of the family. On the contrary, for a territorial, professional, national, or religious group such an individual is lost, and, since no group likes to lose its members, every kind of exogamy which involves a passage into another group incurs a social condemnation. This condemnation is particularly strong if the individual, by passing into another group, renounces the essential values of his first group—customs, traditions, ideals. Formerly, when the differences of custom and tradition between communities and professions were much greater than now, the marriage outside of a community or professional group was condemned very strongly; we find many traces of this stage in folklore. At present a change of locality incurs a relatively slight condemnation; a change of group professionally (as, for example, when a peasant girl marries a handworker) is only ridiculed; but a change of nationality or religion is still an almost unpardonable offense, the latter even a crime. And, of course, the family is influenced by the larger social group to which it belongs; the national and religious groups usually require that the family shall disown a renegade member, and the family in general complies with this demand and rejects such an individual, even if he wishes to keep the familial solidarity.

The other side of the case is presented when a new member is brought through marriage into a social group. For the family, as we know, two questions are here involved: what is the social standing of the new member's family within the larger group to which it belongs, and what is the character of the new member. But for the social group the first question does not exist. The family indeed becomes connected through marriage with the new partner's family;

and to it the social standing of the latter is important. But the community at large does not enter into any particular relation with another group by the mere fact of receiving a member from it, and it cares little for the other group's standing. Therefore the family may occasionally acquiesce in the fact that its member marries a girl who will be assimilated with difficulty, if the family of this girl has a particularly high social standing—is very rich, instructed, of good origin, or influential. The benefit of being connected with such a family may be greater than the displeasure of having an unadaptable new member. But for the community those reasons cannot overshadow the only point which counts for it, namely, how will the new member be assimilated? This depends, of course, upon the nature of social customs and traditions which he brought with him, and the more they differ from those which prevail in the given group the greater is the social condemnation of exogamy. This condemnation is usually strengthened by the jealousy of the marriageable members of the group, their parents and relatives. The exogamous member is judged to lack the feeling of solidarity and to inflict a humiliation upon the group by selecting a stranger. Sometimes the attitude of the group is rather mixed, as when a person of a different nationality or religion, in marrying into the group, accepts its national or religious ideals; there usually remains enough difference of traditions and habits to provoke a certain unreceptivity in the group, but the spirit of proselytism is flattered. And so it happens, for example, that a converted Jew is laughed at within the Christian community, but defended against his former co-religionists.

As the new member is not backed by his old group, his position is usually rather helpless. No particular social norm arises from this intermarriage analogous to the norm of respect between husband and wife, which has its source in

the fact that both belong still to their respective family-groups. Only a complete assimilation neutralizes the lack of cordiality of the social group toward the new member.

3. *Marriage from the economic point of view.*—In order to understand the economic side of marriage we must remember (1) that marriage is not a mere relation of individuals but the constitution of a new social unit, the marriage-group, in which two familial groups intersect, while each of these preserves to a degree its own integrity, and (2) that the question of property, particularly of property in land, is not in peasant life a merely economic, but a social, question; the meaning of property is determined by social traditions.

From these points results the general principle that both families are obliged to contribute to the economic existence of the newly married couple by giving dowries corresponding to their own situation. A family which does not give a sufficient dowry to a boy or girl proves either that it is poor or that it lacks solidarity, and in general lowers its own social standing.

Fundamentally the aim of the dowry is not merely to help the married couple to get a living, but to enable them to keep on the same social level as that of their families—to avoid being outclassed. As long as the boy and girl live with their parents they belong to the latter's class, even if they have then nothing of their own; but if they had no property to manage when starting their own household, they would pass into the class of hired laborers. The economic form in which this tendency to avoid being outclassed expresses itself is always the establishing for or by the newly married couple of a business of their own; and this principle applies indeed to all the old social classes—handworkers, bourgeoisie, nobility—for up to fifty years ago the difference between hired work and independent work

constituted a social as well as an economic difference; and to a certain extent this remains true today. Among the peasants property in land is evidently the basis of this difference, and therefore the practice of dowry is adapted to the solution of the problem of making every young married couple own a farm. It is clear also that in most cases this problem can be solved only by a contribution from both families. Usually these contributions are so arranged that the family of the boy gives land, the family of the girl money, because land means more than money and a husband settling on his wife's land loses some of his dignity as head of the marriage-group, and is usually looked down upon by other farmers.

The peasant practice of inheritance is to leave the undivided farm to one son, who has then the obligation of paying off his brothers and sisters, and for this purpose he must have a large dowry in cash from his wife. The father is seldom able to put aside money enough to give the other children their parts, and mortgaging the farm, in view of the half-sacred character of land property, is hated by the peasant, aside from the fact that it often means ruin. The division of the farm is, as far as possible, limited by tradition; below a certain size even by law. The sale of the farm is avoided even after the death of the parents, and is never possible during their life. Sale, division, or mortgaging of the farm means a lowering of the social standing of the family. The head of the family, who has worked during his whole life upon the farm, wants his work to be continued by his son on the same scale. In short, it is a familial duty of one son at least to marry rich.

But even if the farm were divided or sold, each son would hardly be able to farm without getting some dowry, and the family of the wife would never allow her to live in very poor conditions if it could prevent it. The same is true

of the sons who are paid off by their brother; they seldom get money enough to buy a farm sufficient for living, especially since the son who takes the farm is usually favored in the settlement.

There are of course cases when there is no necessity of taking a dowry. For example, the only son of a sufficiently rich farmer is free to marry without money. But as the dowry has not only a practical value, but is also an expression of the family's importance and solidarity, the custom is usually kept up unless the family of the poor girl has for some reason a relatively high social standing in spite of poverty.

Exactly the same social and economic reasons oblige a girl who has some dowry to marry a boy with property. The dowry is seldom sufficient to buy a farm and thus to keep the social level which the girl had in her family; and even if it should be large enough, the girl's family will seldom allow her to marry a poor boy, because it would be considered a proof that the girl had no suitors of a higher social standing, and therefore that she had some personal defect.

There are many exceptions to this general rule, but they admit of special explanations. A boy or girl who is already declassed or whose family did not belong originally to the class of farmers (or masters of handicraft) is not socially obliged to marry with dowry. It is customary for the young couple to have money or goods enough to furnish the house, and both families are obliged to help them as far as possible. The familial solidarity is still strong; but since property which has not the form of an independent business does not determine the social standing of the family as does land or a master-workman's position, the consideration of dowry plays a quite subordinate rôle in the selection of a mate. A boy who has money enough to furnish the house may

marry freely a girl who has nothing except her personal clothing and household linen, and a girl with some money may marry a completely poor boy; there is no real inequality in either case. If the question of dowry is often raised, it is rather a remnant of the traditional attitude, or an imitation of the owning classes, not an actual social or economic problem.

A real marriage for money, that is, one in which a poor boy or girl selects intentionally a partner with some fortune, always incurs a social condemnation or at least ridicule. In the case of a craftsman who needs a dowry in order to establish his own shop the condemnation is very slight. He ought not, indeed, to count exclusively upon the dowry, but since acquired handicraft was equivalent to capital in the old guild tradition, and a journeyman was often pushed into the master-class by his wife's family, dowry under these circumstances has lost its social disapproval. But social opinion knows no justification for a poor country boy or girl who by making a rich match passes into the farmer-class; the members of the latter consider it the worst kind of climbing. And it is still worse if the unskilled city workman marries a rich girl. He cannot use the dowry productively in any line of handicraft, and so is supposed to make the rich marriage only for the sake of being lazy and enjoying pleasure at his wife's expense. In the two latter cases the condemnation is perhaps strengthened by the fact that in such matches the richer party is usually either much older, or personally unattractive, or with some moral stain, etc., since otherwise he or she could have made a better choice. Thus a marriage which is most evidently made for the sake of money is most clearly considered abnormal. Even if there are no personal disadvantages on the side of the richer party, the match is almost certainly concluded against the will of his or her family and incurs condemnation from this

reason also. And, generally speaking, the economic relation of the parties in marriage is subjected to a *moral* appreciation, only if it appears as a *personal*, not a familial, arrangement, on one side or on both.

From the economic point of view a second marriage presents a particular problem. In the case of a widow or widower the normal control of the family is greatly diminished, since these have more importance within the family-group than the bachelor or girl, and their private life has acquired through marriage more independence. The problem of keeping the same social standing is also involved, but usually there is less danger of losing it, for the widow or widower already has property. In this case the personal help of the second husband or wife in keeping the farm and household going is normally a sufficient economic contribution, and no capital is needed. If there are children from the first marriage, the situation is more complicated, for the family of their parent has an interest in them and in the maintenance of their social position, especially in view of the eventual children from the second marriage. The lot of these children must also be considered, and a dowry is therefore sometimes required even in a second marriage. But it is much more difficult to get. Indeed, since the widow's or widower's marriage-value is much lower than that of a maid or a bachelor, a claim of this kind on the basis of social, and therefore also of economic, equality would be unjustified.

There is a double evolution of the economic side of marriage, influenced on the one hand by the dissolution of the old class-hierarchy and substitution of a new class-organization, and on the other by the process of economic individualization.

The old social classes are becoming mingled and intermarriage is more and more frequent. At the same

time new criteria of social superiority appear in place of the old ones, or along with them, and an equilibration of different advantages becomes possible. The old advantages of fortune or good birth may be offset by instruction or offset each other. Within the economic sphere itself the standpoint of income begins to compete with that of property; hired work loses its socially depreciative character, etc. Thus marriages are more and more frequent in which some other social superiority is put forward by one side as against the property brought by the other party, and such mating becomes more and more normal in social opinion and more and more easily acknowledged by families on either side.

At the same time economically unequilibrated matches become gradually more possible because of the liberation of the individual from the pressure of the family and community. Still it is clear that the possibility of showing a real disinterestedness depends upon the economic conditions set by the environment. We must remember that in the Polish country life of the lower classes the possibility of economic advance is very small, as compared even with that of the Polish city life, and quite insignificant in comparison with that of American life. On the contrary, there are numerous possibilities of retrogression as the population increases. Thus a married couple does well if it succeeds in keeping to the end the economic standard of life with which it started, and it is natural for them to try to start with as high a standard as possible. Disinterestedness would be a luxury for which the children as well as the parents would pay. Marriages quite free from economic considerations become, therefore, practically possible only in some parts of the country where season-emigration is practiced, to some extent in Polish industrial cities, and particularly in America, where they are, indeed, almost the rule.

4. *Marriage from the sexual point of view.*—The sexual factor, as a mere necessity of sexual satisfaction, aside from the question of individualized love, must play of course an important rôle as a motive of marriage in general, although it is somewhat difficult to determine to what extent the want of sexual satisfaction is consciously conceived as a reason for marriage. Certainly the popular songs and jokes of young people show that sexual tendencies are developed before any actual sexual intercourse. Both sexes mix frequently together in work and play, and sexual desires must arise. But, on the other hand, their development depends upon marriage as a social institution. Indeed, the social activities which are most favorable to their development have all, mediately or immediately, marriage in view. There is a stock of sexual information and attitudes acquired before puberty, and this is not conditioned by the idea of marriage. But after puberty the boy and the girl always look upon each other as possible matches, and social intercourse between the sexes is always arranged with marriage in view. All the entertainments which are not merely ceremonial have this aim. An interesting fact shows how the sexual side of this preliminary intercourse is institutional and socially controlled. No indecent allusions are ever allowed in a private conversation between boy and girl, but any indecent allusion can be made publicly, in the form of a song or joke, at a gathering where young people of both sexes are present.

And marriage is the only form in which sexual satisfaction can be obtained. Illegal relations before marriage are relatively rare, not so much because of any particular moral self-restraint as, once more, because of the familial control, reinforced by the control of social opinion and exerted in view of the future marriage. Sexual intercourse before marriage is normally and immediately treated by the

boy, the girl, the family, and the community as an illicit extension of the sexual preliminaries of marriage, but anticipatory of marriage, and it leads almost universally to marriage, even when, under the influence of disintegrating factors, it becomes frequent. The idea of sexual intercourse *per se*, without relation to marriage, plays hardly any part in the primitive peasant organization of life. Therefore the main reason for the prohibition of sexual intercourse before marriage is to be sought in the familial form of marriage itself. The boy and girl who begin sexual relations before marriage begin also in fact the marriage-relation, thus avoiding the familial control and trifling with the social sanction expressed in the whole series of marriage-ceremonies. This must evidently lead to a disorganization of the whole marriage system. Even if a match arranged in this way is one agreeable to the respective families, still in form it is a rebellion against the familial authority and a neglect of the community.

After marriage sexual intercourse ceases almost completely to be a social problem; it is intentionally ignored by society. Conjugal infidelity in normal conditions is not assumed to exist; it is very seldom even spoken of, and, if it occurs, is unconditionally condemned, equally in man and woman. But even the legal sexual relation between man and wife is the object of a very far-going discretion. It is never mentioned when one is talking about marriage; even by the married couple itself, in private conversation or letters, sexual allusions are scrupulously avoided. In a few cases where we find them they are accompanied by apologies. It seems as if the whole sexual question were felt, not so much as impure, as incongruous with the normal and socially sanctioned conjugal relation, which, for the social consciousness, is fundamentally a familial relation, belonging to the same type as other relations between

members of a family. Conjugal sexual life is not institutionalized, as is courtship, nor morally regulated, as is family life, but is reduced to a minimum and left out of consideration. It is a curious fact that in spite of ten centuries of Christian influence there is a disharmony between the peasant attitude and the standpoint of the church. The latter conceives marriage as precisely a regulation and institutionalization of sexual intercourse and, far from avoiding allusions to sexual matters, subjects them to an analysis and valuation which, though mainly negative, is very detailed. Frequent misunderstandings therefore arise between the priest and his parishioners, particularly if the former is not of peasant origin.

Sexual life in general is thus completely subordinated to marriage, is regulated in view of marriage before the ceremony and denied any independent value after the ceremony. In a later volume we shall treat the process which leads to a development of sexual life outside and independent of marriage. Here we can only indicate that the sexual factor is beginning to play a more important rôle in marriage by determining more and more its selection.

In a perfect familial and social organization the individual can choose his partner within the limits indicated above, but this free choice is itself not exclusively determined by sexual love, because the development of sexual love is dependent upon the whole system of courtship. Not only is the individual prohibited from selecting outside of the relatively narrow circle of socially possible matches, but even within this circle his possibilities of choice are further restrained by all the formalities which make the exclusiveness of sexual love a matter of the gradual elimination of all matches but one. An immediate falling in love, leading directly to engagement, is psychologically impossible. In most cases it is not only true that all the possible partners

are known from childhood—which is evidently an important obstacle to a rapid infatuation—but indecision, careful selecting, taking of all possibilities into account, are traditional attitudes, originating in familial considerations, but transferred to matters of love. This indecision is reinforced by the limitations of speech mentioned above; expressions of love containing even the faintest sexual allusion are socially sanctioned only when publicly made and consequently impersonal or half-impersonal; private declarations are very limited. For the normal young boy or girl, therefore, there are a certain number of persons of the other sex more or less pleasing, and all of them are sexually acceptable. The ultimate choice is then made under the influence of the family, or for various reasons all these possibilities fall away one by one and the decision settles upon the one remaining. The only case when this "liking" of one person among others can ripen into love before marriage is when for some reason the two individuals have more opportunity to meet each other than anyone else. After the engagement, and particularly after marriage, exclusiveness is attained, but precisely then the love-relation changes into the respect-relation. Of course, there is often love shortly before and after the wedding, but it is gradually submerged by familial and economic interests.

The first stage of the liberation of the factor of sexual love is actually the illegal sexual intercourse before marriage. We call it the first stage, because it exists at the very beginning of individualization, if external conditions are favorable. Thus, among the young season-emigrants to Germany, and even among wandering season-laborers on Polish estates, who are isolated from their families and communities for from seven to ten months and have the opportunity to meet privately, almost 50 per cent have sexual intercourse and then marry after coming home, or even send

money to their priest during the season, asking for the publication of their banns. Here the mere "liking" grows into sexual love, thanks to the actual sexual intercourse, and may become strong enough to cause the young people to take upon themselves the whole responsibility for their marriage, though usually the permission of the parents is obtained before the priest is asked to publish the banns.

The second form of the liberation of sexual love is more normal, because it requires no exceptional conditions and does not break the traditional sexual morality; but on the other hand it shows a higher stage of individualization. We find it particularly often in America, but also in Polish cities. It consists in the reduction of all the complicated process of selection and courtship to an offhand proposal to a girl who "pleases" after a relatively short personal acquaintance. If the girl rejects the proposal, the boy tries to find another whom he "likes" and repeats the performance. This way of concluding a marriage shows a very important evolution of the traditional attitudes. It is possible only when all the familial, social, or economic motives have lost their influence and the indecision, the hesitation among many possibilities, is no longer artificially maintained. The boy or girl desires to marry in general, and in this mood, after the liberation from all social pressure, the slight "liking" (which under the old conditions would only suffice to put the person liked among those from whom a closer selection would be made) becomes a sufficient impulse to start the decisive action.

Finally, the last stage is attained when this "liking," under the influence of a general cultural progress, and particularly of a development of imagination and feeling made independent of practical activity, grows into a typical "romantic" love, in which the sexual element is neither

stifled, as in the traditional conditions, nor given in its crude form, as in sexual intercourse before marriage, but exalted and idealized, and the exclusiveness results neither from institutional reasons nor from habit, but from a rich complexity of feelings and ideas connected with the given person.

THE CLASS-SYSTEM IN POLISH SOCIETY

In the present state of Polish society there is a general revaluation of social distinctions, a breaking down of the old social hierarchy and an establishment of a new one. This process is going on more rapidly in certain parts of the country (it is the slowest in Galicia), but everywhere it includes also the peasants and the lower city classes and exerts a great influence upon the psychology of the younger generation in particular.

The old class-organization presents two independent and partly parallel social hierarchies—that of the country and that of the town population. The first is fundamental, the second additional.

The highest rank in the first hierarchy (and completely dominating the second as well) was occupied by a few families of great nobility. At the time of Poland's independence they occupied the highest official posts, kept their own armies, directed politics, etc. After Poland's partition their political influence disappeared. At present fortune, tradition, and in most cases title (there were no recognized titles in Poland before the partition, except for a few Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes) are all that distinguish these forty or fifty families from the rest of the nobility. The numerous middle nobility constitutes the second stratum. Then comes the peasant nobility, distinguished from the middle nobility by the lack of fortune and culture, from the peasant, formerly by its rights, now only by

tradition.[1] Then come the peasant farmers, formerly classified into crown peasants (almost completely free, but having no political rights), church peasants, and private serfs. Finally comes the landless peasants. It was in fact not possible during Poland's independence to draw an absolute line between any two contiguous classes; particularly the gradation of noble families on one side, the gradation of peasant families on the other, was continuous, and between the lowest noble and the highest peasant families the distinction was political, not social. But the position of each family was very exactly determined; rising and falling were possible, but very seldom within a single generation. And as far as the social organization still persists, the same is true at present.

On the other hand, the town population was also hierarchized, mainly upon the basis of fortune, secondarily upon that of culture and birth. The highest place was occupied in every large town by some wealthy trades-families; then came the intellectual workers and the craftsmen; then the petty merchants and unskilled workers. Politically the rights of the old bourgeoisie, except in town administration, were lower than those of the nobility in general; socially the position of old and rich bourgeois families ranked with that

[1] "Peasant nobility" is a class found only in Poland and called in Polish *szlachta zaściankowa*, "village nobility," *szlachta zagonowa*, "bed-nobility" (referring to their small beds of land), and *szlachta szaraczkowa*, "gray nobility." They had almost full political rights, and coats-of-arms like the rest of the nobility. Usually one large family of the same name occupied a whole village and even several villages. They were quite independent economically, but as they had no serfs they were in the same economic condition as the peasants. Their origin dates back mainly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were usually the descendants of warriors endowed with land by the dukes, and sank to their low economic and social level as a consequence of their numerical increase and the division of land. They were and are still particularly numerous in the ancient duchy of Mazovia (unified with the kingdom of Poland in 1525–27); thence large numbers of them emigrated to, and organized large settlements in, Lithuania and Ruthenia. At the end of the eighteenth century they outnumbered the middle nobility—400,000 as against 300,000.

of the middle nobility. Outside of both hierarchies, and in fact, with rare exceptions, outside of Polish social life in general, was the Jew.

As early as the end of the eighteenth century many factors began to contribute to a gradual dissolution of this system, and the process of dissolution reached the lower classes some thirty or forty years ago. The "Constitution of May 3" (1791) gave political rights to the bourgeoisie, but the later loss of independence made all political privileges illusory. The process of personal and economic liberation of the peasants, begun before the second partition and carried on by private initiative and legal acts, was completed in 1864. The development of industry, the ruin of many noble families after each revolution through confiscation of their fortunes, the agricultural crisis caused by foreign importation, the spread of instruction and democratic ideas, are all factors destroying the content of old distinctions while leaving the form. The process is still going on, and the actual situation may be stated in the following way.

First, there are still the old classes, wherever the conditions permit a certain isolation and the development of a strong class-consciousness—that is, wherever the class is at the same time a social group with real intercourse and common interests. The factors which keep the old class-consciousness strong are mainly territorial vicinity and identity of occupation. Thus, the old families of middle nobility settled in some district or province, the old bourgeois families in large towns, the peasant families or the peasant nobility settled in the same village or parish from immemorial time—these have still a class-feeling strong enough to resist any external influences. They do not admit anybody from a lower class, and they do not try to get into a higher class. But these scattered groups have

among themselves a feeling of congeniality and of equality; and intermarriage creates among them new links of solidarity.

But these groups, without being exactly dissolved, are diminishing through a process whose mechanism is determined by the nature of their own constitution as well as by the changes which the economic and political evolution of the country brings with it. The economic form corresponding to the social system expressed in these groups is that of familial property, that is, property, parts of which are under the management, not in the complete ownership, of the individual. In this form of economic organization the class can subsist as a real social group because through it territorial vicinity and identity of occupation can be preserved through a series of generations, and class-consciousness can persist even if it has no longer any real basis in the political organization. Under these conditions, if an individual is unable to maintain his part of the family fortune the family helps him and controls him, and as far as possible hinders his ruin. But this control and help are of course limited. The family may be unable to help, it may be unwilling to help, or the individual may be unwilling to accept any control, if for some reason the attitude of solidarity is weakened or the strain is too great. And the economic changes of the last century make the preservation of the old forms of property more and more difficult, particularly since the lack of political independence did not permit the development of any adequate social mechanism to facilitate the modernization of the ancient economy in agriculture, handiwork, and commerce. Thus the cases in which the family cannot save the individual from ruin, or even where the whole family is ruined, are very frequent. And when the modernization of economy is finally attained, it usually proves that greater individualization

of property is required, the familial solidarity is thus weakened, and the individual is left more or less to his own resources.

But any member of the class-group who ceases to be a proprietor is declassed. He cannot maintain the old social relations on a basis of equality; he must usually leave his territorial group in search of work; he loses community of interest with his class, and, above all, he has to do hired work—he becomes dependent. Now there is hardly another economic distinction so profoundly rooted in Polish consciousness as that between independent work on the person's own property and hired work. The occasion of this, as is shown by our analysis of the economic attitudes, is threefold: (1) hired work, before the development of industry, meant almost always "service," including personal dependence of the employee on the employer; (2) hired work in whatever form has the character of compulsory work as opposed to free work; (3) hired work is more individual than independent work, and bears no direct relation to the familial organization. (Of course professional work, based on fee, not on wages, must be distinguished from hired work.)

The loss of class is seldom complete in the first generation. The individual still keeps the attitudes of his class-group and personal connection with its members. Even in the second, sometimes in the third, generation some attitudes remain, personal relations are not completely severed, the familial tradition is kept up, and the question of birth plays a rôle.

In this way, during the last century and particularly during the last fifty years, there has been a continually growing number of those who have lost class, derived from all the social classes of the old complicated hierarchy. But while a hundred years ago these outclassed individuals hung about their old class in some subordinate position, the

industrial and commercial development of the country has opened for them new lines of activity and new fields of interest, while the progress of instruction and of modern social ideology has helped to construct new principles of social distinction, class-solidarity, and class-hierarchy. The result is that along with the declining, but still strong, old social organization there exists in growing strength a new organization, based upon quite different principles and tending gradually to absorb the first.

An interesting feature of this new organization, distinguishing it from parallel social structures in France, Germany, or Italy, is that the principle of hierarchization is in the first place intellectual achievement, and only in the second place wealth, in its modern forms of capital and income. This is due mainly to two factors. First, while in other societies the rich bourgeoisie, by becoming the capitalistic class in the modern sense, constituted the nucleus of the new hierarchization, in Poland the old Polish bourgeoisie was too weak to play the same rôle; its number was small, its wealth limited. Not only was the town life less developed in Poland than in the West, but the Polish bourgeoisie had to share its rôle of capitalistic class with the Jews, who, being themselves outside of Polish society, could not impose the capitalistic principle of social distinction. On the contrary, the fact that the Jews were to a large extent representatives of the capitalistic economy has certainly helped to maintain, almost up to the present time, a certain contempt toward "money-making" and the attitudes of business in general. At the same time, after the fall of Poland the conditions were not favorable for the constitution of a bureaucracy, except, to a certain extent, in Galicia. The "intellectual aristocracy" was therefore almost unrivaled, and succeeded in imposing its standard of values upon the whole new system. The second factor

which helped the intellectual aristocracy to do this was the loss of political independence and the subsequent efforts to keep the Polish culture in spite of political oppression. Every intellectual achievement appeared in this light as bearing a general national value. When later the capitalistic class grew in power, it had to accept, more or less, either the standard of the new intellectual class or that of the old aristocracy, and it still hesitates between the two, but with a marked inclination toward the first. Its wealth gives it an additional superiority over the intellectual, not over the birth, aristocracy, and it is easier to satisfy the intellectualistic standard than that of birth. Thus, the new hierarchy gains in extension, while at the same time the intellectual criterion becomes complicated by that of wealth. And those criteria go down to the lowest strata of society.

There is, of course, a continual passage of individuals from the old hierarchy to the new, and on the other hand a growing infiltration of individuals and families of the new class into the old class-groups through marriage and property. But the old bourgeoisie is already largely amalgamated with the new class-organization; the middle nobility began to amalgamate with it some thirty or forty years ago, and the process is going on, although rather slowly; the amalgamation of the peasant began in the present generation. Only the highest aristocracy and the peasant nobility remain still isolated in their class-groups, though losing members continually.

Finally, the individually Polonized Jews and foreigners, when they settle in Poland and become assimilated, are received into the new organization. The same can be said of the bureaucrats.

In this new hierarchy we can distinguish four classes. The highest class is constituted by those who, besides a sufficient degree of instruction (university) and an indispen-

sable social refinement, have some particular superiority in any line—wealth, talent, very good birth, high political, bureaucratic, or social position. The middle class—the essential part of this hierarchy—is composed of professionals: lawyers, physicians, professors, higher technicians, literary men, tradesmen of middle fortune, higher employees. University instruction and a certain minimum of good manners are, generally speaking, the criteria delimiting this class from the lower middle class. The latter is the most important for us in the present connection, because it is the usual medium through which the peasant rises above his own class, for in the old social hierarchy he could not do this. His old social position corresponds, in fact, somewhat to one between the lower middle class and the workman class, and he may now rise to the one or fall to the other.

In the city the lower middle class is composed of shopkeepers, craftsmen, lower post and governmental officials, railway officials, private clerks and salesmen, etc. To this class in the country belong manor officials (farm-managers, stewards, clerks, distillers, foresters); commune secretaries, teachers, organists; rich shopkeepers and mill-owners, etc. But we must remember that the criterion is not so much the position itself as the degree of instruction which this requires and the average cultural level of the men who occupy it, and that a man of good birth, good manners, and higher instruction, even if filling an inferior position, does not fall below the middle class. On the other hand, lack of instruction and bad manners hardly permit even a relatively rich man to rise to the middle-class level. Thus it may happen that a clerk belongs to a higher social *niveau* than his employer and is received in circles which are closed to the latter.

In the city the lower middle class is connected by imperceptible gradations with the working class and in the country with that of manor servants; the differences become

smaller the lower the social level. While education still retains its value, the kind of occupation, money, dress, are beginning to play a more important rôle. The criteria which usually exclude a man definitely from the lower middle class and place him in that of the workman are unskilled labor and illiteracy, though the contrary does not hold good; that is, an occupation requiring some special skill or reading and writing does not place a man above the working class.

Of course all kinds of pauperism and vice declass a man definitely, put him outside of both the old and the new hierarchy. Beggars, tramps, criminals, prostitutes, have no place in the class-hierarchy. The same holds true of Jews, except those who are Polonized, and to some extent of Polish servants in Jewish houses. In Russian and German Poland the officials and the army are outside of Polish social life.

This system of social distinctions is even more complicated than we have here described it; the distinctions become sometimes almost imperceptible, but they are very real, and their influence in the new hierarchy is even greater than in the old, because in the former they stimulate uncommonly the climbing tendency. Under the old system progress in social standing requires the collaboration of the greater part of the family-group, is necessarily slow, and no showing-off can make the individual appear as belonging to a higher class than his family, for where his family is known, his social standing is determined, and where it is not known, he has no real social standing. Particularly since the old class is a plurality of class-groups, unified by territorial and professional solidarity, and connected from group to group by a feeling of identical traditions and interests (sometimes by intermarriage), social advance is essentially not passing into a higher class, but rising within

the given class-group. The factors which permit a family to rise are the development of property along the line of the occupations of the class (land in the country, buildings and trade in the town), practical intelligence, moral integrity, and, in general, all the qualities which assure an influence upon the class-group, such as good marriages within the class-group, familial solidarity.

On the contrary, in the new social organization an individual (or marriage-group) can rise alone and rapidly. He is easily tempted to show off, to adopt the external distinctions of the superior class in order to appear as belonging to it, and, if he is clever enough, this showing-off helps him to rise. And the rise itself is here essentially a passing into the higher class, facilitated by the fact that the criteria are so complicated that the territorial or professional groups in this organization have not the importance of real class-groups, and that no groups can have the stability and impenetrability which the old groups possessed before the dropping of the familial principle. The factors of climbing are here instruction, economic development—rather as an increase of income than as an acquisition of property—wit, tact, a certain refinement of manners, and, in general, qualities which assure, not the influence upon a given social environment, but the adaptation to a new social environment, including marriage above one's own class and breaking of familial solidarity.

It is easy to understand how this new, fluid, individualistic class-hierarchy, opening so many possibilities of social progress, must be attractive to the members of a society in which the question of social standing and class-distinction always played an exceptionally important rôle. It has enough of democracy to permit anyone to rise and enough of aristocracy to make the rise real. Particularly among peasants its influence must be felt more and more, as with

the dismembering of land and growing proletarization of the country inhabitants the possibility of rising within the peasant community is closed for a large part of the young generation.

Since passing into the new organization and rising within it involve a far-going modification of the traditional attitudes, there arises an estrangement, and sometimes a struggle, between the old and new generations, and of this we have numerous examples in this and the following volumes.

In general, the attitude of the members of the traditional class-groups toward the old and the new class-hierarchy is very characteristic. All the old classes, from the highest aristocracy down to the peasant, are based, as we have seen, upon the same general principles, and to this extent they understand each other's attitudes. This understanding is particularly close between country classes, where an identity of occupation creates a common universe of discourse; but it is not lacking either between the town and country population, wherever they meet. And, more than this, even the Jew, although outside of the Polish society, is understood by the noble and the peasant and understands them. This understanding between the old classes does not exclude antagonism, hostility, and mistrust whenever whole groups are concerned, whenever the peasant, the noble, the Jew, the handworker, meet upon the ground of antagonistic class-interests. But it makes possible a curious closeness of relations between individuals wherever class-antagonisms are for a shorter or longer time out of the question. And in spite of all antagonisms and hostilities, a member of any class-group wants the members of any other class to be true and perfect representatives of their class-spirit, to incorporate fully all the traditional attitudes of the class, including even those which are the basis of class-

antagonisms. Thus, the peasant wants the noble to be a lord in the full sense of the word, proud but humane and just, living luxuriously, unconcerned about money, but a good farmer; not easily cheated or robbed by his servants or even by his peasant neighbors, but consciously generous, conservative, religious, etc.—in a word, to have those features which, while putting him at an inaccessible distance above the peasant, still make him familiar and possible to understand.

On the contrary, the members of the old class-groups do not understand at all the new men. There is no class-antagonism; on the contrary, in many cases there is a solidarity of interests which may be even acknowledged. In spite of this, individual relations between members of the old and the new hierarchy can hardly ever be very close, except, of course, in so far as a member of a new social class still keeps some attitudes of the old one, or a member of some old class-group becomes modernized. Nor is it merely a matter of different occupations. A professional who buys an estate, a city worker who buys a peasant farm, can hardly ever become quite intimate with any of the old inhabitants. All this manifests itself curiously, for example, with regard to the Jews. The Jewish boycott of the two years preceding the war extended only with great difficulty to the country population, because in many localities the peasant, sometimes even the old-type noble, understood better, and felt himself nearer to, the Jewish merchant of the old type than to the more honest and enlightened Polish merchant of the new class. But let a rich, instructed, even christened, Jew, belonging essentially to the new middle class, buy an estate and he will feel incomparably more isolated from the Polish nobility and the Polish peasant than some little old crass Jewish merchant from the neighboring town.

We shall see in our later volumes many and important manifestations of the class-evolution in communal and national life.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The family is practically the only organized social group to which the peasant primarily belongs as an *active* member. Outside of the family his social milieu can be divided into two distinct and dissociated parts: (1) a political and social organization in which he does not play an active rôle and of which he does not feel a member; and (2) a community of which he is an active member, but which is constituted by a certain number of groups whose internal unity is due merely to actual social intercourse and to an identity of attitudes. This dissociation is an essential feature of the original peasant social life; its progressive removal, the constitution of organized groups of which the peasant becomes an active member, is the main characteristic of the evolution of social life which we shall study in a later volume.

1. The complete lack of political rights until the end of the eighteenth century made the peasant only an object, not a subject, of political activity. In the process of gradual liberation he has acquired some political rights—communal self-government, participation in elections. But at the beginning he was unprepared to use them and was always governed as before, and even since he has begun to participate actively in political life this participation, except in Galicia, has been limited up to the present, for the peasant as for the other Polish classes, by the political oppression of the country. The society developed some equivalent of an independent state-organization, as we shall see later, but only in German Poland is the peasant a fully active element of this organization, while in Russian Poland he is only on the way to it. And since in Russian Poland political rights

have always been more limited than anywhere else, the old attitude toward the state is there preserved in the most typical form. This attitude can perhaps be best compared with the attitude toward the natural order on one hand, and toward the divine order on the other; it is intermediary between the two. The political order appears to a certain extent as an impersonal and a moral power, absolutely mysterious, whose manifestations can possibly be foreseen, but whose nature and laws cannot be changed by human interference. But this order has also another side, more comprehensible but more unforeseen, with some moral character, that is, capable of being just or unjust and of being influenced; in this respect it is the exact parallel of the divine world. The bearers of political power whom the peasant meets are men, and their executive activity can be directed within certain limits by gifts or supplication, or they can be moved to intercede before those higher ones whom the peasant seldom meets, who are more powerful and more mysterious, but still in some measure human and accessible. Above them all is the emperor, less human than divine, capable of being moved but seldom, if ever, directly accessible, all-powerful but not all-knowing. This whole system, this combination of impersonal power and half-religious hierarchy, evidently permits a certain explanation of everything, but excludes absolutely any idea of political activity. The peasant can accept only passively whatever happens and rejoice or grieve. He does not always even feel able to praise or to blame, for a given fact may be the expression of the impersonal power as well as of the personalities, and even in the latter case he does not know whom to praise or to blame. Usually he tries to interpret everything more favorably for the higher, less favorably for the lower, personalities, because this always leaves some way out of pessimism; the higher personalities may not have

known the situation; when they know it, they will change the oppressive measures or show themselves the peasant's benefactors. The unlimited power ascribed to the state and the mystery with which its leaders are surrounded in the peasant's imagination make him cherish often the most absurd hopes or give way sometimes to the most absurd fears. For even if the leaders are accessible to such motives as the peasant understands, they have besides an unlimited sphere of unknown motives and plans, exactly as it is with God. Therefore in the state as viewed by the peasant there is a self-contradictory combination of an impersonal regularity, incorporated in the habitual functions, and of almost whimsical change. Being a superhuman order, it is at the same time a source of unlimited possibilities.

All this explains the traditional loyalty of the peasant and makes us understand at the same time in what ways this loyalty disappears. The first step is usually connected with a change of the habitual valuations. The source of evil is placed higher and higher, until finally, as often in Russian Poland, the tsar is conceived as being practically parallel with, and similar to, Satan. The unlimited possibilities included in the state become fundamentally possibilities of evil; the good comes only incidentally, as a consequence of an imperfect realization of the evil, due to the fact that the lower personalities in the state-hierarchy are more human. Their human character acquires a positive value; it is still weakness, but weakness in evil, resulting from an accessibility to the motives of ordinary interest (as in accepting bribes), and sometimes even to good feelings. Then comes the second step—the development of a half-mystical faith that this empire of evil can be broken and a new and perfect organization established in its place, not indeed with the ordinary human forces alone, but with the supernatural help of God or by the half-supernatural powers

of other states, of "the people," of "the proletariat," etc. This is the typical psychological path of revolution in the lower classes.

The other way is that of a progressive growth of the peasant's positive or negative part in the state—participation in state-activities and organized struggle with the government within legal limits. A real understanding of the state-organization, sufficient for practical purposes, dissolves the mystical attitudes, while at the same time the development of a national consciousness makes loyalty to an oppressive state appear as national treason. This evolution has begun in Russian Poland and is nearly completed in German Poland.

Besides the state, the two other organized social groups of which the peasant is a member are the commune and the parish. In both he was passive for a long time. Although the commune is based upon the principle of self-government, its freedom is often limited by administrative measures of the state, and in the beginning the peasant was hardly able to use his liberty even within these limits. The commune was in fact governed by the secretary, who knew the formal side of administration, and in many communes this situation lasts up to the present. As to the parish, the priest was all-powerful, not only in fact, but to a great extent also in form, and up to the present in many parishes the peasants can hardly get an account of the money which they give. It is not so much dishonesty on the part of the priests, many of whom are really disinterested, as the expression of the principle of patriarchal government, the influence of the idea that any control would be harmful to the priest's authority. The struggle for active participation in the commune and the parish organization is one of the important points in the actual evolution of the peasant's social life, particularly in Russian Poland.

Finally, the same passivity characterized the peasant's part in economic life. Well adapted to the old conditions of the local farming economy, he stood powerless, ignorant and isolated in face of the great economic phenomena of the external world, and even in face of the small and informal Jewish economic organizations of the neighboring town. In this line his present evolution is most rapid and is particularly important in its psychological consequences.

2. The social environment to which the peasant is primarily adapted, within which he is active and lives his everyday life, is the partly coincident primary groups—the village, the parish, and the commune. These are here treated, not as organized administrative units, but as collectivities, loosely unified by personal interrelations among their members, by a certain identity of interests which does not as a rule give birth to common activities, by periodical meetings, through which the particular kind of solidarity developed for a short time in a mob is perpetuated as a psychological deposit. To this environment we must add the neighboring town, a part of whose inhabitants the peasant knows mainly through business relations, and the neighboring parishes and communes, whose inhabitants he occasionally meets at fairs and parish festivals. The Polish popular term corresponding to this undetermined environment, with which the individual or the family has close or remote, but always immediate, relations, is *okolica*, "the country around," both in the topographic and in the social sense. In the latter sense we shall use the term "community."

Of course the circle of the community widens with the facilities of communication and the frequency of social intercourse, but there is always a criterion which enables us to determine its farthest limits: It reaches as far as the *social opinion* about the individual or the family reaches.

Social opinion is the common factor which holds the community together, besides and above all the particularities which unify various parts of the community, individuals, or smaller groups with each other, and it is the only indispensable factor. Occasionally there may arise a local interest which provokes some common, more or less organized, action, usually of an economic nature. But this faculty of common action shows that the old community has already risen to a new level, and is again one of the marked points of the present social evolution of the peasant. The peasant community subsisted for centuries independent of common action and lacked any organization, even a transitory one.

The manner in which social opinion holds the community together is easily analyzed. Any extraordinary occurrence becomes for a certain time the focus of attention of all the members of the community, an identical attitude toward this is developed, and each member of the community is conscious that he shares the general attitude or that his attitude is shared by the rest of the community. These are the three original elements of the mechanism of social opinion: the phenomenon, the identity of attitude, and the consciousness of this identity.

First of all, the social unity of the community depends upon the frequency with which social opinion has the opportunity to manifest itself. This is inversely proportional to the size of the group and directly proportional to the number of relatively important phenomena occurring in it. In the community the number of phenomena sufficiently important to occupy the social opinion is, of course, much more limited than in the parish or commune, in the parish more limited than in the village. But in any given group the number increases with the increase of the sphere of interests of the members. When, for example, in some village an agricultural association has bought a new machine,

or a milk association has had an exceptionally large amount of milk, the whole community learns of it and talks about it. The awakening of national and political interests has the same effect, as many phenomena occurring within the community assume a new importance from those points of view. Finally, a very important factor is added by the press. Through it phenomena from the external world—first only those which have or seem to have some relation with the interests prevailing among the members of the community, then also those which arouse a purely intellectual interest—are brought into the focus of social opinion, are talked about, more or less identical attitudes are developed with regard to them, etc.

But with the introduction of these new phenomena, particularly the external ones, social opinion loses a character that it possessed eminently in more primitive conditions—its reliability. In a primary group, with steady components, with a form of life relatively simple and changing very slowly, with a close connection between its members, mistakes in the perception or interpretation of an interesting fact are relatively rare, and gossip is usually as well motivated as it can be. The peasant is a keen observer within the sphere of his normal environment, for good observation is there a condition of practical success, and he knows his environment well enough to interpret exactly the observed data. So those who start a piece of gossip are usually sure of their fact, and those who hear it know enough to be critical, to distinguish between the probable and the improbable. And deliberately false gossip incurs a strong censure of social opinion. Of course interpretation and criticism are exerted from the standpoint of tradition, and nothing can prevent errors resulting from false traditional beliefs; accusations of magic are a classical example. From our point of view, therefore, many expressions of the peasant's

social opinion are partly false. But they prove true as soon as the tradition of the peasant community is taken into account; for example, in normal conditions only those are accused of magic who really try to exert it. The error lies in the whole system of beliefs, not in the interpretation of a particular fact from the standpoint of this system.

But when a phenomenon of a new and hitherto unknown kind appears in the focus of social attention, the old mechanism fails at once. Observation becomes incomplete, the fact distorted by old mental habits; interpretation is hazardous and real criticism impossible, because there is no ready criterion of the probable and improbable. And particularly if such a new fact occurs, and the gossip originates outside of the community, the disorientation of social opinion is complete. Any absurdity may circulate and be generally accepted.[1] Of course this is due, not only to the impossibility of tracing the gossip to its source and the difficulty of verification, but also to the general mental attitude of the peasant who, once outside of his normal conditions, faces the world as an unlimited sphere of incalculable possibilities.[2]

We have spoken of an identity of attitudes, developed by the members of a community with regard to the socially interesting phenomenon. In fact, this identity is a necessary condition of social opinion and it becomes more perfect when social opinion is once formed, in view of the pressure which this exerts on the individual. Were it not for this

[1] Thus, during the emigration to Paraná in 1910–12, in many eastern isolated communities the legend was circulated that Paraná up to that time was covered with mist, and nobody knew of its existence. But the Virgin Mary, seeing the misery of Polish peasants, dispelled the mist and told them to come and settle. Or a variant: When the mist was raised, all the kings and emperors of the earth came together and drew lots to decide who should take the new land. Three times they drew, and always the Pope won. Then the Pope, at the instigation of the Virgin Mary, gave the land to the Polish peasants.

[2] See *Religious Attitudes* and *Theoretic and Esthetic Interests*.

pressure, unanimity of social appreciation could hardly be attained as often as it is, in view of the frequent divergence of individual and familial interests in a given case. The main factor in establishing this uniformity and in enforcing it in spite of individual disagreement is tradition. The attitude to be taken with regard to any phenomenon of a definite class is predetermined by tradition, and an individual who took a different attitude would be a rebel against tradition and in this character would himself become a socially interesting phenomenon, an object instead of a subject of social opinion, and in fact an object of the most unfavorable criticism. But there comes eventually a progressive dissolution of tradition, and at the same time an increase in the number of phenomena which cannot be included in any of traditional categories, either because they are quite new or because the new interests which have arisen in the community throw a new light upon old classes of phenomena. And the result is a dissociation of attitudes within the community, a formation of opposite camps, more or less durable, sometimes even a struggle, usually leading to some crude beginnings of organization. If the divergent attitudes assume steady directions, if they remain divergent with regard to many new phenomena and thus point back to certain profound social changes going on within the community, the latter may split into two or more parties, which may in turn join some larger organizations. But all this does not mean that the community is dissolved. As long as the same phenomena arouse social interest, it is a proof that behind a diversity of, or even opposition in, details there is an identity of general attitudes, and it is with regard to this identity that the community still remains one group; only its unity is weakened, because the stock of common traditions is poorer and the unanimity incomplete. A complete division of the community would

occur only if every identity of interests disappeared, if its members belonged to completely different social organizations, which would respectively absorb and satisfy all their social tendencies. This state of things is approximately realized where different nationalities live together—Poles with Russians or Germans, much less so with Jews.[1]

The third element of social opinion—the consciousness of the attitudes of others—is mainly kept up by all kinds of social meetings. While individual conversation and the communication of news favor the development of identical attitudes, its action is neither strong nor rapid enough when taken alone to make the social opinion self-conscious. The meeting not only shortens the process of communication, but, thanks to the immediate influence of the group upon the individual, is the most powerful medium through which social tradition is applied to each case and an identical attitude elaborated and enforced upon the members. Through frequent meetings a village can develop a certain (of course limited) originality of attitudes which gives it a particular social physiognomy. Through meetings also a village may be much more closely connected with some distant village belonging to the same parish than with a near one which belongs to another parish, even if individual intercourse with the second is more animated than with the first. The commune, before it became a real social organization, had incomparably less unity than the parish, because general meetings were rare and included only a part of the population (men farmers). The connection with people of other parishes and communes is mainly due to meetings—fairs, parish festivals, etc.

Among the more intelligent the popular press plays the same part as the meeting; the correspondence or the article

[1] The latter case presents this particularity, that Jewish social opinion is much more concerned with phenomena going on among the Poles than reciprocally—evidently because of the economic interests of the Jews.

permits the communication of the event and of the attitude toward it, and the printed word has the same influence as the expressed opinion of the group, because it is implicitly assumed to be the expression of social opinion. There are certainly essential differences between the meeting and the paper with regard to the mechanism by which social opinion is elaborated; the relation between the individual and the group is immediate in the first case, mediate in the second, and through the paper the individual as well as the community enters into relation with the external world. But the function of the Polish popular paper, which we shall study in the fourth volume, can be clearly understood only if we take it in connection with the social opinion of the community.

The nature of the influence of social opinion upon the individual who is its object is rather complicated. First of all, it seems that for the Polish peasant in general it is rather pleasant to be the focus of public attention, apart from the cause of it; even if this cause is indifferent from the standpoint of personal value and public attention involves no admiration, it still brings a pleasant excitement. This would explain to a great extent, for example, the usual vehement display of grief, even if we recognize the traditional element in it. The excitement of departure to military service or to America contains certainly some of this pleasure; still more the excitement of return with anticipation of public admiration. But certainly this pleasure never goes so far as to neutralize the feeling of shame at being the object of intense public blame, as it sometimes does in city criminals. On the contrary, the negative influence of public blame in criminal matters goes so far that suspicion of crime, just or unjust, is one of the most important causes of suicide. Another intensely felt public disgrace is that which follows ruin and the declassing

which accompanies it. Not less intense is the shame brought to a girl by the discovery of her misconduct. But if this misconduct consists, not in actual sexual intercourse (particularly if followed by the birth of a child), but in a far-going flirtation with many boys, the distress of incurring public blame is neutralized by the pleasure of having much success with the boys. Finally, there is one matter in which the peasant universally dislikes publicity in whatever form; it is the matter of conjugal relations. But, generally speaking, the desire of showing off is a much more powerful factor in the peasant's behavior than the fear of shame. People who, by rising above, or falling below, the normal level of the community, have learned to disregard public blame still show themselves very susceptible to public appreciation. The peasant's vanity does not require for its satisfaction explicit public praise; the general pleasure of attracting attention is adequate. It may even adjust itself to a moderate amount of blame, for which the peasant has a ready explanation: they calumniate because they envy. And certainly this explanation is often true. In a community where everybody wants more or less to be the object of general attention anybody who succeeds in this aim becomes in so far an object of envy. We may add that envy of notoriety is probably much stronger than envy of economic well-being, and success in any line is appreciated at least as much for the public admiration which it attracts as for itself.

Behind this actual machinery of the action of public opinion there may perhaps still remain some profound, unconscious vestiges of forgotten motives, consisting in the belief in an immediate, useful or harmful influence of the appreciation expressed in words. But we have no data which would clearly require the use of this magical explanation.

The influence of social opinion upon the single individual is only one side of the question; we must also take into consideration its effects upon a smaller group within the community. Here the problem is more complicated.

The starting-point is the internal and what we may call the external solidarity of every social group, in the face of the opinion of its social environment. The internal solidarity consists in the fact that every member feels affected by the opinion expressed about his group, and the group is affected by the opinion expressed about any one of its members. The external solidarity—that is, the solidarity enforced from without—is manifested in the tendency of every community to generalize the opinion about an individual by applying it to the narrower social group of which this individual is a member, and to particularize the opinion about a social group by applying it to every member of this group.

It is quite natural that in all matters involving social blame the external solidarity imposed by the environment is usually the condition of the internal solidarity of the group itself. The opinion of the environment often makes the group responsible for its members even if there is feeble unity in this group, and practically obliges it to become solidary, either by reacting together against the environment or by enforcing upon every member compliance with the environment's demand. Thus, when in a village some people begin to develop a certain vice, the rest of the inhabitants cannot throw the responsibility upon the guilty members alone, for the opinion of the community will always accuse the whole group without discrimination. So they have either to interfere with the guilty members or to accept the judgment and make the best of it. The latter course is sometimes taken, and the result may be that the vice becomes general in the village. There are, for example,

villages notorious for theft, drinking, card-playing, etc. Besides imitation, there has been in such cases also a passive resignation and acceptance of the *vox populi*, after a vain struggle, and a subsequent adaptation to the bad opinion. The priests know very well how to deal with such cases. When a vice is only beginning to develop in a village, they proclaim it publicly from the chancel and brand the whole village, without discrimination. In this way they get the collaboration of the greater part of the inhabitants in their struggle against the vice. But if a village has long been notorious for some vice, the priest proclaims publicly the slightest improvement in order to show the possibility of changing the bad name.

The unorganized social group usually lacks, of course, the most efficient arms against the members who bring shame upon it, namely, exclusion. In some cases this is attempted, more or less successfully, but then the group organizes itself temporarily in view of this particular end. It is possible for the individual to disclaim solidarity with an ill-famed unorganized group by leaving it, but this again does not happen frequently, because the individual, supported by his narrower group, feels less strongly the blame of the wider community. This process of enforcing solidarity upon the group by the social environment is frequently repeated, on a larger scale, when a community is blamed in the newspapers for the acts of some of its members. We find it, also, in a somewhat different form, when in some intellectually isolated community on the ethnographical limits of Poland national solidarity is awakened by the blame of foreigners, for example, in German Poland.

The contrary process, when the group acquires solidarity in the eyes of the larger community by enforcing its own claims to this solidarity, is, of course, found only in matters

involving social praise; the group wants recognition on account of the social prominence of its members, the individual wants recognition as member of a social prominent group. This is the well-known mechanism of familial, local, national, pride. We have to distinguish this mechanism, which is possible also in an organized group but does not require organization, from the other, by which the organized group demands recognition on account of its social function, as a whole; we shall meet this problem later on.

How does the individual free himself from the influence of social opinion? As we have already noted, the Polish peasant rids himself more easily of the dread of social blame than of the attraction of social praise. But, making allowance for this difference, we find that there is already in the primitive peasant psychology a germ of independence of social opinion which, under favorable circumstances, can develop. We have seen that originally conjugal life is, at least in part, out of the reach of public intrusion. There is, in general, a tendency, particularly among men, to resent intrusions of the community into family matters; this tendency increases usually with the growing importance of the man within the family-group and reaches its highest stage in old heads of the family before their resignation. Besides this, the peasant frequently likes to keep secret all those personal matters which would not attract a particularly favorable attention of the community. And the same is often done under the influence of his desire for publicity; he likes to prepare carefully his effects in order to make them unexpected and as striking as possible. This aiming at great effects makes him often disregard or even encourage social blame for some time and to some extent in order to make the contrast stronger; he may even be dissatisfied with social praise if it comes before his own chosen moment and spoils his effect. In this way his ambition itself teaches

him to disregard to some extent public opinion and helps to find a particular pleasure in the contrast between his own economic, moral, intellectual value and the erroneous appreciation of social opinion. Back of this all the while is the idea that a day will come when he will show his real value and astonish the community.

These psychological features make easier the real process of liberation, which usually comes when the peasant becomes a member of some group whose opinion differs more or less from that of the community. Sharing the views of this new group and feeling more or less backed by it, he learns to rise above the community and to disregard the traditions. This process is facilitated by his leaving the community, going to a city or to America. But it goes on also among those who stay within the traditional group. In fact, all the recent changes of the peasants' views are taking this direction. When once a small circle of "enlightened" peasants is formed in a community, the further movement becomes much easier. The social workers in the country understand this necessity of opposing a group to the group-influence and always try to organize a "progressive circle," even the smallest one. When reading is developed, it often suffices for the individual to communicate by letters or by print with some group outside of his community in order to feel strong enough to oppose the prevailing opinion. Some popular papers have therefore organized loose associations of the adherents of some movement, who communicate with one another through the paper. But, even in the cases of an almost perfect liberation from the pressure of the immediate environment, there is a latent hope that some day the community will acknowledge the value of the new ideas and of their bearers.

At present the unorganized social environment of the peasant is itself undergoing a profound evolution, in

connection with a modification of the traditional class-hierarchy. The constitution, the criteria, the interests of public opinion, are changing very rapidly, and the reaction of the individual to the influence of this changing environment, without being necessarily either weakened or strengthened, is changing qualitatively, in connection with the formation of new social classes.

ECONOMIC LIFE[1]

Among the Polish peasants we find three coexisting stages of economic development with their accompanying mental attitudes: (1) the survival of the old family economy, in which economic values are still to a large extent qualitative, not yet subordinated to the idea of quantity, and the dominant attitude is the interest in getting a good living, not the tendency to get rich; (2) the spontaneously developed stage of individual economy, marked by a quantification of economic values and a corresponding tendency to make a fortune or to increase it; (3) the stage of co-operation, developing mainly under external influences, in which economic values and attitudes are subordinated to the moral point of view.

To be sure, these types are seldom realized in their pure form in concrete groups or individuals; some attitudes of a lower stage may persist on a higher level. It happens that social individualism develops under influences other than economic, while the economic attitudes logically corresponding to it are not yet realized. Or the familial attitude may

[1] In addition to first-hand materials, including a report on season-emigration made by one of the authors at the request of the Central Agricultural Association of the Kingdom of Poland to the Russian Minister of Agriculture, some data from the following works have been used in writing this chapter: Władysław Grabski, *Materyały w sprawie włościanskiej;* Franciszek Bujak, *Zmiąca* (a particularly important monograph of a village), and *Limanowa;* Jan Słomka, *Pamiętniki włościanina.*

be kept by men or groups who in economic life adapt themselves to individualistic attitudes and valuations while their family-group behaves economically like an individual or a marriage-group. We have thus many mixed forms, some of which will be found in our present materials. But their distinctive feature is their instability; the discrepant elements which they contain lead soon to their disappearance. They are interesting only as showing the way in which evolution goes on.

1. In the first stage all the categories of economic life have a distinctly sociological character. The economic generalization based upon the principle of quantitative equivalence has not been consistently elaborated, and we therefore find distinctions between phenomena of this class which are economically meaningless but have a real social meaning. The same lack of quantitative generalization leads to another result—a lack of calculation, which has sometimes the appearance of stupidity, but is in fact only an application of the sociological instead of the economic type of reasoning to phenomena which are social in the eyes of the peasant even if they are merely economic when viewed from the standpoint of the business man or the economist.

There are three classes of property, none of which exactly corresponds to any classical definition: land, durable products of human activity (including farm-stock), and money. Natural powers and raw materials, not elaborated by human activity, cannot be included in any economic category; things which can be used only once (food, fuel, work—animal or human) belong, as we shall see, rather to the class of income than to that of property, although sometimes a distinction is made between their simple consumption and their productive use.

In taking land property into consideration we must remember that for centuries the peasant was not the legal

owner of his land, and that therefore the legal side of property plays up to the present a secondary rôle, although there has necessarily been a far-going adaptation to legal ideas since the abolition of serfdom. The difficulty of this adaptation is shown by the innumerable, often absurd, lawsuits about land, of which mainly Galicia, but also Russian Poland, has been the scene. The modern legal categories are incommensurable with the traditional social forms, and therefore the peasants either try to settle land questions without using the legal scheme at all, or, when the matter is once brought before the court or even only before the notary, they cannot reconcile their old concepts with the new ones imposed by the law, and a situation which would be simple if viewed exclusively from the traditional or the legal standpoint becomes complicated and undetermined when the two standpoints are mixed.

But the influence of serfdom upon land property ought not to be overestimated. It seems to have been rather negative than positive; it hindered the development of the legal side of property, but hardly developed any particular features. Indeed, the main characteristics of the peasant land property are found among the higher classes, although perhaps they are more distinct in the peasant class. The system of serfdom has simply adapted itself to pre-existing forms of economic life whose ultimate origin is lost in the past.

Land property is essentially familial; the individual is its temporary manager. Who manages it is therefore not essential provided he does it well; it may be the father, the oldest son, the youngest son, the son-in-law. We have seen that it is usual for all the members of the family to marry and to establish separate households, but if a member of the family is unlikely to marry (being a cripple, sick, or otherwise abnormal), or if, exceptionally, a member does

not wish to marry, he can live with his brother or sister, working as much as he is able, not working if he is not able, but in any case getting his living and nothing but his living. No amount of work entitles him to anything like wages, no inability to work can diminish his right to be supported on the familial farm. The same principle is manifested in the attitude toward grown-up children living with their parents. They have the right to live away from the farm, but they have the obligation to work for the farm; and if, later on, they go to work outside, the money they earn is not their own, because the work which they gave for this money was not their own—it was due to the family-farm and diverted from its natural destination. Of course the collateral branches of the family lose to some extent the connection with the farm, but the connection is only weakened, never absolutely severed. Its existence was very well manifested in some localities under serfdom. If a serf managed his farm badly, the lord could give it to someone else, but absolutely to the nearest possible relative who gave a sufficient guaranty of a better management.

This familial character of the farm should not be interpreted as if the family were an association holding a common property. The members of the family have essentially no economic share in the farm; they share only the social character of members of the group, and from this result their social right to be supported by the group and their social obligation to contribute to the existence of the group. The farm is the material basis of this social relation, the expression of the unity of the group in the economic world. The rights and obligations of the members with regard to it do not depend upon any individual claims on property, but upon the nearness of their social relation to the group. It was therefore only with the greatest difficulty that the idea could be accepted that the land left after the death

of the head of the family should be treated together with other kinds of property as belonging in common to the heirs and eventually to be divided among them.

The first form of providing separately for the members of the family, other than the one who was to take the farm, was certainly a payment in cash or farm-stock, made during the life of the head of the family—the member managing the farm. This is not the acknowledgment of their rights to the farm, but simply an expression of familial solidarity, a help, whose individualistic form is necessitated by modern economic conditions. With the progress of individualism the old principle begins to yield, and we find the first sign in the sometimes almost purely nominal shares which after the death of the head of the family the principal heir, or rather the new manager, has to pay to his brothers and sisters. Then, these shares, by which already the principal heir acknowledges some rights of the other heirs to the land as such, begin to increase, but they never become equal to the share of the member who holds the land. Finally when in rare cases the farm itself is divided (usually only after a premature death of the head of the family) it is seldom divided among all the heirs; usually most of them are "paid off." And we see the older generation endeavoring by all means to prevent the division. A curious stratagem is, for example, the bequeathing of the farm to one son, and mortgaging it nominally and above its value for the benefit of other heirs. A legal division then becomes, of course, practically impossible.

The indivisibility of the farm has nothing to do with the question of its territorial unity. Most of the farms are composed of fragments, sometimes over a hundred of them, disseminated over the whole area of a village neighborhood. And changes of territorial arrangement—the exchange of separate fragments between neighbors or the modern

integration of farms—do not seem to have a dissolving effect upon the social unity of the farm. Nevertheless, not every farm is equally adapted to playing the part of familial property. A farm upon which many generations of the same family have worked is quite naturally associated with this particular family and often even bears its name, while a new farm is devoid of such associations. But the old land may lose, and the new land may assume, the function of familial property; the principle of indivisibility remains in force even if the object to which it is applied is not the same as before. This explains how the idea of familial property has been kept up in spite of colonization and emigration from province to province, and is still exerting its influence even among Polish colonists in Brazil.

The land being thus a social rather than an economic value—the material condition of the existence of a group as a whole—other characters of land property can be deduced from this fundamental fact.

No land communism is acceptable to the Polish peasant. When the Russian government colonized Siberia, constituting villages according to the communistic principle prevailing among the Russian peasants, almost the only Polish colonists attracted there were factory workmen, who had forgotten the peasant attitude. And it is evident that communism would destroy the very essence of the social value represented by the land; the latter would cease to express the unique familial group. A comparison may illustrate this attitude: communism of land from the standpoint of familial property would mean something more or less like a communism of objects of personal use from the standpoint of individual property.

Land should never be mortgaged, except to a member of the family. Mortgaging to a stranger, and particularly to an institution or government, not only involves the danger

of losing the land, but it destroys the quality of property. Mortgaged land is no longer owned by the nominal proprietor. "The land is not ours, it belongs to the bank," says the peasant who has bought a farm with the help of a bank. This attitude leads to a particularly irrational behavior in matters of loans. The conditions on which the state bank lends money on land are particularly favorable. The debt is paid back in from forty to sixty years, and the yearly payment with interest is from 2 per cent to 3 per cent less than the interest on any average investment. The peasant knows this very well, but, in spite of it, as soon as he has any money he tries first of all to pay the mortgage. A private mortgage is preferred, even if the interest is higher and no partial payments possible. The peasant prefers above all a personal debt, even at high interest and for a short term. And this again results from the social character of the land; mortgaged property becomes a purely economic category and loses its whole symbolical value. The situation is here analogous to that which we find in every profanation; the profaned object passes into a different class and loses its exceptional character of sanctity.

Finally, land property is evidently the main condition of the social standing of the family. Without land, the family can still keep its internal solidarity, but it cannot act as a unit with regard to the rest of the community; it ceases to count as a social power. Its members become socially and economically dependent upon strangers, and often scatter about the country or abroad; the family ceases to play any part in the affairs of the commune, its young generation can hardly be taken into account in matters of marriage, it cannot give large ceremonial receptions, etc. The greater the amount of land, the greater the possibility of social expression. Of course all this gradually changes on the higher levels of economic development.

Land has also an exceptional value from other points of view—as an object of work, as an object of magical rites and religious beliefs, and later as a basis of national cohesion. But all these questions will be considered in other contexts.

The second class of property—products of human activity—shows a partial, but only a partial, independence of the familial idea. These products are not destined for the use of the family as a whole, and in this sense they are individual, but not personal, property. Members of the family own them, but for every member in particular this ownership is, so to speak, accidental. The head of the family owns the farm-stock, can sell it or give it, but only as long as he is the manager of the farm. House furniture is owned by those who hold the house, but again only as long as they hold it. Even valuable pieces of clothing, particularly home-made, often passing from generation to generation, are owned really, but only temporarily. Things bought or made by the individual himself are no exception to this rule. The function of this class of property is precisely to complete the function of land property in assuring the material existence of the group, wherever this requires individual ownership, and the right of every member of the family to own something individually depends upon this fundamental aim and is determined by the position which he occupies in the group. The head of the family owns the farm-stock because this is necessary for his management of the farm, and he and his wife are the general distributors of these goods; they have to give everyone what he needs as member of the group. To a member who stays at home they give the only individual property which he needs to live—clothes; he has no other function in the group except being a member. To those who marry and establish a new household the goods are distributed which are necessary, not only to live personally, but also to fulfil the function of householders—besides

clothes, some house and bed furniture, some farm-stock and farming implements. And every member of the family should be ready to give to any other member things which the other needs and which he can spare himself, taking the particular position of both into account. Thus, an unmarried member who has the opportunity to get from without any household or farm goods should give them to a married or marrying one. Dividing the inheritance means primitively only dividing this class of goods, for no others are inherited in the proper sense of the word, and the division is regulated by the same principle: to everyone according to his needs, as far as those needs result from his function in the family-group, not from his personal desires. And under no pretext should any goods of this class, as long as they have any value, be given away to strangers, or sold as long as anybody in the family needs them.

Money is a relatively new kind of property which has adapted itself to the pre-existing organization and whose importance grows as the modern economic life penetrates the peasant community and makes that pre-existing organization insufficient. For the peasant, money property has originally not the character of capital, but of an immediate and provisional substitute for other kinds of property. He does not at first even think of making money produce; he simply keeps it at home. And if he lends it privately, the mediaeval principle of no interest prevails, or at most, as we shall see later, a reward in money or products is taken for the service. Even now interest on private loans from peasant to peasant is very low. Putting money into the bank comes still later, and, last of all, using it on enterprises. Being a provisional substitute for other kinds of property, money is individualized according to its source and destination. A sum received from selling a cow is qualitatively different from a sum received as dowry, and both are dif-

ferent from a sum earned outside. The distinction goes still further. The money which the husband gets for the cow is qualitatively different from that which his wife puts aside by selling eggs and milk, not because either belongs personally to husband or wife, but because each represents the equivalent of a different sort of value; the first is property, the second is income. We shall consider the latter presently. The qualitative difference between various sums of money equivalent to property was originally expressed in the fact that they were kept separately. And to the difference of origin corresponded a difference of destination. Money received as dowry could be used only to buy land, and the same was, of course, true of money received from the sale of land. Money so derived had the character of familial property and it could never be diverted to any individual end or any enterprise, not even for a time, but had to wait for an opportunity to buy land. Money from the sale of cattle, horses, hogs, or poultry was to be put aside in order to meet all the individual difficulties of the members of the family arising from the complication of modern life and the beginning economic individualization, particularly to help newly married couples, or, later, to help the principal heir in "paying off" other heirs. It was the equivalent of the second class of property. Money earned outside, if it was not mere income but acquired the character of property, was usually assimilated to the same second class. But there was a general tendency to make money pass from a lower into a higher economic class—from the class of income into that of property, from that of individually controlled into that of familial property. Actual economic evolution tends to abolish all these distinctions and to make money more and more fluid. But the tendency to individualize money was so strong that up to the present time a peasant who has a sum put aside for a

determined end, and needs a little money temporarily, prefers to borrow it, even under very difficult conditions, rather than touch that sum.

At this stage of evolution property, not income, is exclusively the measure of the economic situation of the family or the individual. And evidently it must be so, since the economic situation is socially important only in view of the social standing which it gives and since it is property which expresses the social side of economic life. A larger but badly managed farm is therefore more valued than a well-managed but smaller one, even if their real economic values are inversely proportional. And there is a curiously mixed attitude of envy and commiseration toward town people or manor employees who have an income much larger than the peasant, but no property.

The concept of income itself which we use here is originally strange to the peasant. We can apply this category to the yearly products of the farm, but we must remember that the peasant does not apply it. The products of the farm are not destined to be sold and not evaluated quantitatively. Their destination is simply to give a living to the family and to keep farming going on—nothing more. And the original system of farming (one-third winter crops, i.e., wheat and rye; one-third summer crops, i.e., barley, oats, potatoes, etc.; one-third fallow), with an average low level of agricultural practice, really does not leave much to sell from a farm of the average size of ten to thirty acres. Below ten acres a farm gives hardly enough to feed the family and the stock; and if the peasant cannot earn some money outside he must in the spring either borrow grain from a rich neighbor or sell his pig, cow, or even horse in order to get a living until the new harvest. And if his situation is good, he will think rather of increasing his stock than of selling any products. There are also in this case greater claims to be

satisfied—servants to be fed, old parents or collateral members of the family to be supported, neighbors to be helped, guests to be received. For, unlike the property which should never pass outside of the family, the farm income (products) has to be shared as far as possible with poor members of the community, guests, wanderers, beggars, etc. Its essence is to support human or animal life. To waste the smallest part of it is a sin, almost a crime. To sell it is not a sin, but perhaps even here we may find in the background of the peasant's psychology the half-conscious conviction that it is not quite fair. There is another way of using what remains after the satisfaction of the needs of the family and of the duties toward the community: the income in products can be turned into property by increasing the farm-stock, improving the buildings, buying new farm implements, all of which is property. The attitude of the village or commune toward pastures and forests belonging to it is almost the same. They are not common property in the real sense of the word, for the peasant does not consider, as we have seen, raw materials as the property of anyone. They are simply a source from which every member of the village or commune can draw materials which he needs in addition to the farm products in order to support his family, to feed his stock, and to keep up his farm buildings, without getting into trouble with the law. Only with regard to the relation to other villages or communes these goods assume the secondary character of property. In this line there has been also an evolution during the last period.

This attitude toward the natural products of the farm explains why the agricultural progress of the Polish peasant was so slow up to twenty or thirty years ago. There were no sufficient motives to increase the productivity of the land. The standard of living simply adapted itself to the natural income, and the question of increasing the farm

equipment was hardly important enough to justify agricultural studies, harder work, more trouble in running a complicated system of farming, etc. If we take the passive clinging to tradition into account, we shall hardly wonder at the slowness of the progress. And precisely in the only case where the motive could be strong enough—when the farm income was not sufficient to give a living to the family—there were no resources for making improvements.

When the general conditions began to change, the peasant found at first additional sources of income which allowed him to solve the new situations. The growth of the large cities, the development of the means of communication, of national and international commerce, gave him the possibility of selling secondary products of his farming—butter, eggs, vegetables, fruit, etc. Home industry, which had existed from time immemorial, although it was never very much developed, found new markets, thanks to the sudden interest which it awakened in the higher classes of Polish society. But the main source of additional income was hired season-work, at first only in the neighborhood, then also in more distant parts of the country and in Germany, and finally work in America.

The first use of this income was to cover such new expenses as were not accounted for in the old economy; it had to supply the deficiencies of the old system of living in the same way that money property supplied the deficiency of the old system of property. Taxes increased and had to be paid in cash, whereas they were formerly paid mainly in natural products. The multiplication of the family obliged the purchase, whenever possible, of new land, and this could be done usually only by contracting debts, on which interest had to be paid in cash. New needs arose among the members of the younger generation, needs of city products, city pleasures, learning; individualization

progressed, and the older generation had to yield, sometimes after a hard struggle. Finally, when the products of the farm were not sufficient to feed the family, food began to be bought instead of being borrowed. This is the latest stage of evolution.

But even in this evolution the principle of qualification of economic values held good. Every sum of money, additionally earned, had a particular end and could be used on nothing else, not even partially and temporarily. And there was always a tendency to let as much of it as possible pass from the class of income into that of property, whenever the sum was large enough to make a marked addition to the latter. If a sum was once set aside to increase in some particular way the property, the necessity of spending it on some actual need was felt as a misfortune. We have here the explanation of the stinginess of the peasant, which remains his characteristic feature even as an immigrant. Traditionally all the elementary needs of food, shelter, clothing, fuel, were satisfied by the natural products of the land, and there was and is still an aversion to spending money on them. Even when natural products were sold, the money was not used for living, but for other needs. We therefore find the seemingly paradoxical situation that an increase of income in cash usually means for a time a lowering of the standard of living. In localities where they find an easy market for their products the peasants often live worse than in more remote villages. But they usually spend more money on city pleasures and objects of luxury, because with regard to expenses of this kind the inhibition is not traditional and has to be acquired. In the same way the peasant in America tries to limit his living expenses even more than his extraordinary expenses, particularly if he comes directly from the country. And when he has a plan for the use of a sum of money which he has earned, nothing

except final misery and the impossibility of earning or borrowing can compel him to spend this sum on his living.

The third kind of income known at this stage of economic life is wages. But here again the principle is not the modern one. Primarily there seems to be no idea of an economic equivalent of the work done, of an exchange of values. There is rather a collaboration, entitling the collaborator to a living. The servant or employee, by co-operating with his employer, is assimilated to his family. His position is evidently inferior to that of his employer, because the latter is the manager of the property and the distributor of the income; but it is inferior only to that of other members of the employer's family in the fact that these members may become managers themselves. There can also be other reasons of inferiority. The family of the employer has usually a higher social standing than that of the employee. But when the employer is a peasant, the position of an employee or farm servant, a *parobek*, involves as such no social inferiority. In the case of manor servants the element of class-distinction enters and can never be obviated, and the employee's work includes also always some element of personal service essentially different from collaboration, and involving a real personal inferiority. But in this case also the employee is assimilated to the employer's family to the degree that the relation involves collaboration. To be sure, this assimilation resulting from collaboration led only to an internal solidarity of the family-group with reference to work and living, not to a solidarity of external reactions toward other family-groups. The latter solidarity is acquired only through a long life in common.

The manifestation of this attitude toward dependent work is that the salary of the servant was always originally given in natural products. The single servant received his board and a determined or undetermined amount of clothing;

the married servant in manors had lodging, fuel, grain (called *ordynarya*), a field for potatoes, the permission to keep one or two cows, etc.—in short, everything included in the peasant idea of living. Later on the same economic evolution which obliged the peasant farmer to seek for an additional income obliged the employer to pay a little money to his employee. But that this money is considered as only an addition, an equivalent for products which cannot be furnished, is shown by the fact that the wages in cash paid to manor servants amount even now on the average to only 10 per cent of the wages in natural products. Another modification, parallel with the hired season- or day-work of the farmer's family, is the custom by which the manor servant keeps a boy or girl to do day-work on the manorial farm. Originally based on the fact that the larger children of a servant worked with him, the custom was made obligatory by manor-owners, who need cheap hands for light work. A manor servant who has no large children must therefore hire a boy or girl (called *posyłka*). But here also the old principle is retained as far as possible; the servant receives for his *posyłka* an additional remuneration in natural products besides the daily pay, which is therefore lower than that of occasional workers, and the hired *posyłka* is treated by the manor servant in the same way as the *parobek*, the farm servant, by the farmer, that is, he receives his living and a small addition in cash.

Naturally this situation excludes any idea and any possibility of changing income into property, of economizing for the future. As a consequence of the principle of a living instead of a regular wage, the servant can never become an owner, except by inheritance from some member of his family, or incidentally by marriage. The problem of living in old age was solved on the familial principle. A disabled worker was to be supported by his own family, or,

if he had served in one place long enough to become closely connected with the family of his employer, the latter was socially obliged to support him until his death—an obligation which was always respected.

Another interesting consequence of this state of things was the type of moral regulation of the relation between employer and employee. The attitude required was essentially identical on both sides, in spite of the difference of positions and spheres of activity. Its basis was "goodness," consisting on either side in the care for the interests and welfare of the other side—including the families. The employer had to be "just," that is, to reciprocate the goodness of his employee; the employee was to be "true," that is, to reciprocate the goodness of the employer. The moral regulation did not touch at all the matter of proportion between work and remuneration. And even now, when the peasant speaks of a "just" master or a "just" pay, he means a master who cares well for good servants, a pay which shows the intention of the employer to provide well for his employees.

One of the reasons why the relation between work and wages is not taken into account is certainly the attitude of the Polish peasant toward work. While among handworkers a long tradition of guild life developed an appreciation of craftmanship and efficiency, or, more generally speaking, attracted the attention to the results of the work, the peasant is fundamentally interested, positively or negatively, principally in the process of work. Many factors collaborated to develop this attitude. First of all, the compulsory work under the system of serfdom could hardly awaken any interest in the results. What did the serf care whether his work for the lord was efficient or not? On the contrary, the process of compulsory work evoked a strong interest—a negative one, of course, because of the hardship

and loss of time which it involved, and because of its compulsory character. But, under continual oversight, the peasant had to work, willingly or not, and a certain obligatory character has been acquired in the course of time by the process of work as such. It was strengthened by religion: "Man has to work, it is his curse, but also his duty; the process of working is meritorious, laziness is bad, independent of any results." And up to the present this attitude is retained, even if other interests and other motives have been added.

We should expect a different attitude from the peasant toward the work done on his own farm. But even this work was often half-compulsory. The peasant had to keep his farm in good condition in order to be able to meet his obligations to the lord. And even when this work was free, as it was sometimes even under the serfage system, another factor hindered the development of an appreciation of efficiency. The ultimate result of farm-work does not depend exclusively upon the worker himself; his best efforts can be frustrated by unforeseen circumstances, and in a particularly good year even negligent work may be well repaid. On a rich background of religious and magical beliefs this incalculable element gives birth to a particular kind of fatalism. It is not the proverbial oriental fatalism, based upon divine predestination and, if consistent, making work essentially an unimportant element of life, but a limited kind of fatalism, based upon the uncertainty of the future. The essential point is to get the help of God, the distributor of good, against the indifferent forces of nature and the intentionally harmful magical forces of hostile men and of the devil. Now, in addition to religious magic, the process of work itself is a means of influencing God favorably; it is even the most indispensable condition of assuring God's help, for without it no religious magic will do any

good. We cannot solve here the problem, whether the process of work has assumed this importance only under the influence of the Christian ideology or whether there is a more primitive and fundamental religious character belonging to it. The fact is that when the peasant has been working steadily, and has fulfilled the religious and magical ceremonies which tradition requires, he "leaves the rest to God" and waits for the ultimate results to come; the question of more or less skill and efficiency of work has very little importance. The attitude is somewhat different with regard to work whose results are immediate—carpenter's, blacksmith's, spinner's, weaver's work. But even here it is not so much the skill as the conscientiousness of work that counts, and the thing made "will hold if God allows it"—an attitude very different from that of a city handworker.

When hired work begins to develop, there gradually enters a new motive—that of wages. But the essential attitude is not changed. It is for the process, not for the results of his work, that the servant gets his living; it is for the process of work that later the employee, the hired laborer, even the factory workman, considers himself to be paid. Even when later the idea of wages as remuneration for the results of the work is accepted, often eagerly accepted, it is applied less willingly to work at home than abroad. The most absurd explanations are given by the peasants who reject piece-work in Poland and ask for it in Germany; the irrationality of this attitude shows that its source lies in the old habits.

The stress put on the process of work rather than on its results explains also the importance which the kind of work and its external conditions have for the peasant. The motives of pleasure and displeasure connected with this process are at the first stage more important than the profits. The main factors of pleasure are freedom, variety, facility,

companionship. Independent work is more pleasant than dependent, farm-work incomparably more pleasant—or rather less unpleasant—than factory-work, and the only case in which the pleasure of the process of work outweighs always and everywhere its hardship is when all the neighbors come together to help one of their number to gather his crops. This kind of help, always disinterested, is almost equivalent to a pleasure party. It is becoming rare since the new appreciation of work for its results has developed and the old communal life has lost its primary character.

Up to the present we have spoken of the economic attitudes which concern a single family or individual—for even the employment relation belongs to these. We now pass to those which determine economic relations between various members of a peasant community. These relations may be classed under the following seven concepts: giving, lending for temporary use, crediting, renting, exchanging, selling, stealing. There is no possibility of reducing these to a more limited number of purely economic categories, but all of them are modifications of one fundamental relation—of an occasional solidarity between the members of a community, in the same way as all the relations between members of a family in matters of property are modifications of a permanent solidarity within the family.

The gift is the most elementary form in which solidarity is expressed, because it is the simplest form of help. We must distinguish a real gift, when the object given has a material value, from a symbolical gift, when the value of the object is essentially moral. The real gift between strangers can be only an object of consumption, belonging to the category of income, not to that of property, because, as we have said, property cannot go out of the family. A symbolical gift is usually a religious object (medal, cross, image, wafer, scapular, etc.), sometimes an object of adornment, a

trifle made by the person himself, etc. It is in itself property, but its material value is so insignificant that it does not diminish the stock of property of the giver and does not increase the wealth of the receiver. Its moral value consists in the social attitudes which it symbolizes and which constitute its meaning. Now, the common meaning of all the symbolical gifts is that they establish between the giver and the receiver a spiritual bond, analogous to the familial bond, precisely because they formally bear the character of gifts reserved for the familial relation; the receiver is conventionally incorporated into the giver's family. In the case of a religious or magical object the latter has still another meaning in itself which heightens the moral importance of the gift; the bond between the giver and the receiver is sanctified, so to speak. By gradations of the material value of the gift and of the sanctity which it imparts to the relation between the giver and the receiver we pass from a conventional to a real familial relation. Thus, the boy offers to the girl whom he intends to marry gifts of real value, which increase as the marriage becomes more probable, and the betrothal and wedding rings have a particularly sanctifying function, because they have been specially blessed for the occasion.

If the symbolical gift establishes a new relation, the real gift is the result and the acknowledgment of the preexisting relation of communal solidarity. It has thus a double function, the primitive one of help in emergency and the derived one of manifesting solidarity. It assumes the latter on particular occasions and is then ritualized. Food, offered at all ceremonial meetings, has certainly this character. The ceremonial meetings occur on all the important familial occasions—christening, betrothal, wedding, funeral —and even on secondary ones, such as the arrival of a member of the family, the name-day of the head of the

family. By inviting members of other families and offering them food the family manifests that it wants the event to be considered a social, not a private affair, and that in spite of any change in its life or composition it remains solidary with the community. Moreover, this is not a mere question of the good will of the family; the community requires such a manifestation. This explains the enormous proportions which all these ceremonial meetings assume with regard to the number of people invited, the treatment offered, and the time the meeting lasts. Theoretically, the whole community ought to be invited, and the treatment must be a real, not a symbolical gift; that is, every guest ought to be really fed for a certain time, a day, two, three, originally often more. The motive of showing off, using the ceremonial entertainment as a sign of the standing of the family, has certainly developed later on, as a consequence of the attitude of the community toward that manifestation of solidarity.

But on some of those occasions the community had also to manifest its solidarity with the family by a real, effective help. The idea was to assist the family in procuring a living for a new member (at christening) or for a new marriage-group (at the wedding). Every person invited had to offer something for the child or the new couple. At present the gifts are made in money, but we have vestiges showing that, at least in the case of marriage, they were made in farm products—food, fuel, linen, cloth, etc. The family helped the new couple mainly, though not exclusively, in matters of property; the community helped it to get a living during the first months. That those gifts were not intended as a reciprocity for the entertainment (as sometimes seems the case now, when the custom has degenerated) is proved by the fact that no gifts were offered on other occasions, when there was no actual increase of the family—at death or betrothal, for instance.

The gift does not involve necessarily any relation of superiority or inferiority of the giver to the receiver. In the precarious conditions of peasant life everybody may need help occasionally. Of course non-ceremonial gifts are usually made by a richer to a poorer person, and the giver is usually superior to the receiver, but this superiority does not result from the fact of giving. Even habitual living at the expense of others, as, for example, beggary, is not humiliating in itself; the humiliation lies in the circumstances which cause this necessity—in the loss of fortune, or in the lack of solidarity in the family of the beggar which permits him to lead such a life. The situation is different if the gift is one of property, because such gifts are not in use among peasants and anybody who accepts them from a stranger acknowledges thereby the class-superiority of the latter.

Closely connected with the gift, although never ritualized, is lending of mobile property (property of the second class) for a temporary use. This is a form of help quite obligatory in many circumstances; and if the object is used immediately for purposes of living, the situation contains nothing essentially new in comparison with giving. But if the object is used for productive purposes, if, thanks to it, the person who borrowed it gets some income, or, in other terms, if the relation of the object to the purposes of living is indirect, then a new moment is added: the person who borrowed the object is morally obliged to offer a part of the product to the owner. Thus, for example, a horse and a cart borrowed in order to go on a visit, instruments borrowed to repair the house, lead to no obligation. But the same horse and cart borrowed in order to bring the crops into the barn, or instruments used in hired work, are considered productive, and the owner should get something for his good service. The remuneration grows with the importance of

the results obtained (even by chance), and not with the importance of the sacrifice of the owner, although a marked deterioration of the object should be made good. The distinction is not very precise in detail, but the principle is clear. The act of lending is a social service, not an economic enterprise, and the remuneration is not an equivalent of any profits lost by the owner, for this loss is accounted for and accepted in lending as well as in giving, but an expression of gratitude and reciprocal help on the side of the person who borrowed the object proportionate to the increase of the resources of this person.

The primitive attitude toward money-lending is exactly the same, since money is at first only the equivalent of mobile property. The debtor in paying the money back adds a certain sum, not as interest, but as reciprocation of social solidarity proportionate to the subjective importance of the service rendered. Up to the present, even after the introduction of interest, the custom is sometimes observed that, if the debtor has been particularly successful, thanks to the money borrowed, he will add a free gift to the determined interest, as a sign of benevolence toward the creditor.

But a quite different principle prevails in the matter of rent. Land—the first object of rent—is the basis of the existence of the family; therefore, when it is rented, it ought to bring income, that is, it ought to enable the family to live, as when it is cultivated. And, indeed, the form of rent which we can consider primitive is in perfect accordance with this principle. Usually a farmer who has enough farm equipment rents the land of another who cannot cultivate it himself, either because he has not the necessary strength or because he cannot buy or keep the equipment. The products are then divided. In this way the relation of tenant and owner is already an exchange of services, but

it is regulated by the idea of living. But, in general, renting is not primitively a frequent fact among peasants, for as long as familial solidarity exists and the whole family is not ruined or dispersed, some collateral member, assuming the rôle of head of the family, usually undertakes the cultivation of the land which the owner cannot cultivate. This was regularly the case with the land of widows and orphans. Renting of land for money appears as a rule only in the temporary absence of the owner.

As to the rent for buildings, an evolution seems to have occurred. Temporary lodging in a house was originally equivalent to any gift of things which serve for living. It was involved in hospitality and was always only occasional among strangers, since almost everyone except beggars had a steady lodging, if not in his own house, then at least with his family, with his actual or former employer, in some cabin lent by the estate-owner, etc. But at the same time a barn or a stable could be lent on the same principle as any mobile property for productive purposes; that is, the person who used someone's barn to house his crops remunerated the owner by giving him a part of these crops. In short, there was no renting, but lending of buildings, and this was perfectly logical, for the buildings belonged to the class of mobile, manufactured property, as against land. Later on there developed the class of *komorniks*, that is, people who had no houses and lived from day labor, lodging in other people's houses, and the principle of remuneration, applying originally to farm buildings, was extended to houses and rooms permanently used. There was simultaneously a process of regulation of the remuneration, about which we shall speak later. Finally, in some cases, when buildings were rented together with land, the principle of land rent seems to have been partly extended to them, although this last phase is uncertain.

Naturally all the arrangements described above, being based upon social solidarity, are changed as soon as solidarity begins to weaken, and many modifications in the peasant's economic life are due, not to the development of a new economic attitude, but only to this weakening of solidarity. The result of this process is the substitution of the principle of exchange for the principle of help along the whole line of economic relations, except in those which have been ritualized. The reciprocity of help, at first undetermined as to its value and time, becomes determined in both respects; an equivalence of services is required. This means that a relation of things is substituted for a relation of persons, or that, more exactly, the relation of persons is determined by the relation of things. The solidarity within the primary group is a connection between concrete personalities, and every economic act, as well as every other social act, is merely one moment of this solidarity, one of its results, expressions, and factors; its full meaning does not lie in itself, but in the whole personal relation which it involves. An act of social help therefore does not create an expectation of a particular and determined reciprocal service, but simply strengthens and actualizes the habitual expectation of a general attitude of benevolent solidarity from the other person, which may find its expression at any time in any act of reciprocal help. But when this concrete personal solidarity is weakened, the act of help assumes an independent importance in and of itself; the economic value of the service rendered becomes essential, instead of its social value.

When the change begins, the expectation of reciprocity is justified by the amount of the sacrifice made by the giver, and no longer by the efficiency of the help which the receiver got. There must be a reciprocal service to remunerate the giver for this sacrifice, and it must be proportionate to the

sacrifice itself, given at the right moment and in the right way. This is only an intermediary stage between social help and objectively determined exchange, but we find the corresponding attitude very frequently. Grain lent in the spring has to be given back with a very large interest, because that is the time when it is most needed by the creditor himself. Money is often lent on the condition that it will be given back whenever the creditor needs it, and the latter refuses to accept it at any other moment. Night and Sunday work is valued by the worker exceptionally highly because of the sacrifice which it involves; but the same man may do it disinterestedly when he applies to it the principle of solidarity and is asked for it as for a help. In selling or exchanging some object the peasant adds to its economic value the subjective value which the object has for him on account of personal or familial associations. And many other illustrations can be found.

But of course when once the egotistic attitude is introduced into economic relations, these relations have to be objectively regulated. And thus ultimately the principle of economic equivalence of services is introduced and becomes fundamental, while there still remains always some place beside it for the old valuation based upon the efficiency of the help and for the transitory valuation based upon the subjective sacrifice. This may be said to be the actual state of things in the average peasant community. The objective equivalence of values is the usual norm, but its action is modified by social considerations. The principle of equivalence requires that natural products lent for living shall be given back at a determined time without interest, but it may be modified in two ways. If the debtor is in a bad condition and the creditor rich, the latter ought to postpone the payment of the debt; but if their conditions are more or less equal and the debt was contracted in a period of scarcity

and paid back in a moment of abundance, an interest should be added which is measured by the difference of subjective value of the product at these moments of time, and can therefore be objectively very high.

On the principle of equivalence any mobile property or money lent should be given back with a determined remuneration, representing the resultant of the three factors: deterioration of the object, sacrifice of the creditor as temporarily deprived of its use, benefit derived by the debtor. The remuneration is determined beforehand; but if any of those three factors proves different from what was expected, the idea of social solidarity requires a corresponding modification of the agreement. And the idea of solidarity requires that if the debtor is unable to pay any debt whatever in the same form in which he contracted it he shall be allowed to pay it, as far as possible, by working for the creditor. Nevertheless, this principle became a source of exploitation of debtors by creditors. Finally, the idea of exchange has modified the essence of rent; the owner now allows the tenant to profit from a determined quantity of land in return for a determined remuneration. But if a year proves exceptionally bad the owner should as far as possible remit the rent, or at least allow it to be paid the next year, and if the year is exceptionally good the tenant ought to offer the owner more than was agreed.

Applied to work, the idea of exchange becomes the source of the modern principle of wages as remuneration for the result, although here it is particularly difficult to get away from the personal relation. It is therefore almost exclusively in hired work (day- or piece-work) and not in employment or service that this principle is active.

The only case in which equivalence tends to be perfect is in the simple exchange of objects. The idea is that the objects must be really equivalent from the economic point

of view, independent of subjective factors. To be sure, a person may ascribe to an object a special subjective value, or, on the contrary, give it voluntarily for a less valuable one. But neither of these attitudes has any social sanction attached to it. Only cheating is forbidden; the cheater becomes an object of social condemnation; the cheated, of ridicule.

The idea of exchange of equivalent services prepares the second, individualistic stage of economic life, because it introduces economic quantification, at least into the relations between members of a community. Nevertheless, it still belongs rather to the first stage, because it can coexist with a strong familial organization (it is not applied at first to the members of the same family) and because it does not harmonize with the tendency of economic advance which, as we shall see, characterizes the second, individualistic stage of evolution. It expresses an egotistic economic organization of a community which rises very slowly and gradually, remaining still solidary in so far as it permits nobody to profit too much at the expense of others. No individual fortune can be made in such a community, and in fact no individual fortune is made within the peasant community (except by socially condemned usury); for this the individual must enter into relations with the external world.

And this is illustrated by a curious fact. There was originally no commerce between members of a community, no buying and selling at all. It was hardly necessary in the primitive conditions, and it would not have been in accordance with the idea of solidarity as we have outlined it. Therefore the attitudes in buying and selling developed exclusively under the influence of and in contact with people from outside—Jews, foreign peddlers, town merchants. Thence the necessity and importance of the fairs,

where almost all the buying or selling was done. And later, by a sort of half-conscious convention, the fair became a place where everybody could be treated as an outsider, and a money transaction could be concluded, not only with somebody of a different community, but even with a neighbor. It happened and may happen still that when a farmer has a horse which his neighbor wants to buy they both go to the fair, and there, after the first has pretended to wait for a buyer and the second to search for a horse, they meet and conclude the transaction. Of course neither of them acknowledges that he intended to make the transaction beforehand. Actually the custom is almost broken down, but the peasant still does not like to buy from or sell to his neighbor, because he feels morally bound by the principle of economic equivalence and cannot hope to do a particularly good piece of business.

This development of buying or selling in exclusive contact with outsiders accounts for the fact that none of the principles dominating the economic relations within the community is applied to money transactions. Here we find the typical business tendency in its pure form: buy as cheap, sell as dear, as possible; no limitations of honesty, no personal or social considerations. But the peasant had to be taught this purely economic attitude. He had to learn, first, that goods brought to the market acquire a new character—that of being subjected to a common quantitative standard of value, in spite of any qualitative distinctions which they may possess as social values within the community. Everything can be bought from, or sold to, outsiders. And it was not easy to learn this. Up to the present many peasants do not apply the economic standard to some of their goods and are disgusted and offended if someone else does it. This happens most often with regard to land, but sometimes also horses or cattle which have

been used on the farm are sold unwillingly, the peasant preferring to sell the young ones. As we have seen, there was probably an unwillingness to apply the economic point of view to farm products which served for living, and up to the present, except in localities near large cities, the peasant will not sell bread. There is, of course, no such limitation in buying, although the fact that every individual sum of money has a particular destination, can be used only to buy objects of a particular class, shows that there is still, independently of the question of needs, a remnant of some qualitative, social classification.

After learning to apply the economic standard the peasant had to learn also that it is possible and desirable to sell very dear and to buy very cheap. This did not come at once either; the idea of equivalence, applied to exchange within the community, hindered the development of the spirit of business, and in a few remote localities hinders it even now. The peasant will not take more nor give less than he thinks is right; and if accidentally he makes a better bargain than he expected, either he reproaches himself for having cheated the other man or he feels gratitude toward him. The Jews, whose method of business is adapted to the average psychology of the people with whom they deal and is consequently traditional and often correspondent with disappearing attitudes, use in bargaining the appeal: "Do you want to wrong a poor Jew?" This introduces at once the idea of equivalence and the personal element, and the transaction becomes assimilated to an exchange between members of the community. But of course the necessity of making such an appeal indicates the partial formation of the business attitude. This attitude now prevails, with few exceptions, in all relations with outsiders. It assumes often the most extreme forms. In buying, the peasant bargains up to the last, and he does not like to buy if he cannot

bargain, because he wants to be persuaded that he has bought the cheapest possible. In selling, he often demands the most exorbitant prices, particularly if he has some reason to think that the buyer needs his goods very much. As his business attitude is displayed only within a limited part of his economic life, however, it is not systematically organized. The quantitative side of economic value is, in his eyes, only one among its other qualities, brought forward at particular moments, among particular circumstances, with regard to particular people. Each act of buying or selling is a single, isolated action, not connected with other actions of the same class. The principle of cheap buying and dear selling is therefore not limited by any idea of the future, by any endeavor to get a class of steady customers. The peasant at this stage avoids any contracts of delivery which are proposed to him; he makes no calculations for a longer time, but tries simply to get as much as possible at the given moment. He will break any contract of work and go to another place with higher pay, even if he loses more in the long run than he wins. This was for many years the practice of season-emigrants in Germany. The number of contracts broken was enormous. This was due in large part to bad treatment, but partly also to a lack of organization of the business attitudes, which frequently had their first application to work in contact with foreigners. This whole situation left, of course, no place for any spirit of enterprise along commercial or industrial lines.

Finally, we must take into consideration the question of theft, as it corroborates our previous conclusions. There is absolutely no theft in "taking" any raw material which is not in any way the product of human activity; trees, grass, minerals, game, fish, wild berries, and mushrooms are, as we have said, everybody's property. This attitude remains unchanged up to the present, because of the *servituts*,

that is, the right which the former serfs and their descendents have to use to a limited extent the forests and pastures of the manorial estate. "Taking" the products which serve to maintain the life of man or animal may be unfair, but unless the products are taken for sale it is not theft. "Taking" prepared food to satisfy immediate hunger is hardly even unfair, except that it would be better to ask for permission. When clothes are stolen and worn, the act is on the dividing line between "taking" and theft. But as soon as any product is stolen for sale, there is no justification; it is theft in the full sense of the word. Even here we find a gradation. The stealing of goods which belong to the class of income is incomparably less heinous than the stealing of farm-stock, particularly horses and cows. Since money draws its character from the objects for which it is the substitute, a condemnation of money theft varies with the amount stolen, simply because a small sum can represent only a part of the natural income, a medium one an object of individual property, a large one land. And the condemnation, on any level, increases if the proprietor is poor and if the thief belongs to the same community; it decreases if the thief is in real need and if the proprietor is a member of another community or, particularly, of another class.[1] There can be no theft between members of the same family.

2. After the definite liberation of the peasants and their endowment with land their condition was at first no better, sometimes it was even worse, than before. They were indeed free of duties and charges to the lord, but had heavy taxes to pay; they could not rely on the lord's help in case of emergency and were often insufficiently prepared materi-

[1] We find often also the contrary reasoning: stealing in another village is worse than stealing in one's own village, because it gives rise to a bad opinion of the thief's village.

ally and morally to manage their farms independently. But gradually they adapted themselves to the new conditions, and sometimes in the first generation, usually in the second and the third, there awoke a powerful tendency to economic advance, a "force which pushes you forward" as one peasant expresses it. This tendency, which, as we shall see, was the main factor breaking down the old forms and creating new ones, found its expression in connection with the general crisis which the country underwent at this epoch. The progress of industry opened new fields for labor, while at the same time the rapid growth of country population, by increasing the number of landless peasants, made this progress of industry particularly welcome. The improvement of communication drew the peasant communities out of their isolation and put each particular member in a direct and continuous relation with the external world. The growth of cities and the increase of international commerce introduced more money even into the most distant communities and helped to disseminate the quantification of economic values and the business attitude. Emigration opened new horizons, made the peasant acquainted with higher standards of work, of wages, of living. The evolution of the class-hierarchy, while to a certain extent conditioned by the economic evolution, influenced it in turn, because the new system gave a new motive for economic advance by opening the way to social ambition. Finally, instruction was popularized and helped to a better understanding of the natural and social environment.

About half a century was required for the full development of the attitudes involved in the tendency to economic advance, and even now they are neither universal nor perfectly consistent. This is quite as we should expect, for the tendency to advance took at first the line of least resistance; the climbing individual either adapted himself

to the traditional conditions and morals of his immediate environment or simply moved to another environment where he found conditions awaiting him which required no particular adjustment. Only gradually the more independent forms of advance could appear—the effort to modify the old environment or to climb within the new environment.

Land-hunger and emigration are the phenomena corresponding to the lower forms of economic advance, while the higher forms are expressed in agricultural, industrial, and commercial enterprise at home and in the active adaptation to a higher milieu in towns and abroad. For those who remain in the community, increasing or acquiring property in land is the form of advance, satisfying at once the traditional idea of fortune, the desire of social standing, and, to a smaller extent, the desire for a better standard of living. The first two factors are fundamental. The proportions which land-hunger assumed in the second half of the last century are the best proof of the power of the new tendency to advance. But at the same time the lack of economic calculation in buying land proves that the old attitudes remain in force at least with regard to the qualitative character of land property. In the consciousness of the peasant who pays absurd prices for a piece of land there is no equivalence possible between land and any other economic value; they are incommensurable with each other. Land is a unique value, and no sum of money can be too large to pay for it; if there is bargaining and hesitation, it is only because the buyer hopes to get elsewhere or at another moment more land for the same money, not because he would rather turn the money to something else. And if later the interest on his capital is hardly 1 per cent to 2 per cent, he does not complain if only his general income, that is, the interest and his work, is sufficient to give him a living. He does not count his work, or rather he does not dissociate

the interest on his capital and the product of his work, because his work is due to the land, and he is glad that he can work on his own land, not elsewhere. How strong and one-sided the land-hunger can be is proved by some examples of emigration to Brazil. Peasants who had twenty morgs of cultivated land sold it and emigrated, because they were to get there, at a cheap price, forty morgs of land, although not cultivated. So the mere difference of size between their actual and their future farm was a sufficient motive to overcome the attachment to their country and the fear of the unknown, to lead them to undertake a journey of two months and incalculable hardship afterward. This was the attitude of many a rich farmer, while the poor and landless naturally looked upon this opportunity to get land as an undreamed-of piece of luck. There was a real fever of emigration. Whole villages moved at once, and this emigration, in 1911–12, was centered in the most isolated and backward part of the country, in the eastern parts of the provinces of Siedlce and Lublin, and precisely where the tendency to advance had still the elementary form of land-hunger.

A phenomenon essentially different from this emigration of colonists with their families in search of land is the emigration of single individuals in search of work. We shall speak of it in detail later on. Here we mention it only in connection with the tendency to economic advance. Of course there are many in the community—and their number increases every year—who cannot hope to advance if they stay in the country. Most of them, indeed, can live as hired laborers, servants, or proprietors of small pieces of land, and earning some money in addition by outside work. Their living is on the average even better than that of their fathers and grandfathers under similar conditions, but they are no longer satisfied with such an existence; they want a

better future, "if not for ourselves, at least for our children," as they express it. This is the essential change of attitude which accounts for the simultaneous appearance and enormous development both of emigration and of land-hunger. Moreover, emigration to cities, from this standpoint, belongs to the same category as emigration abroad. When a peasant emigrates, it is usually with the desire to earn ready money and return home and buy land. He goes where he can find a ready market for work involving no technical or intellectual preparation, and he is at first satisfied with the wages he can secure for his unskilled labor. Astonishment and regret are often expressed that the peasant shows no decided inclination to become a farmer in America, but undertakes in mines, on railroads, and in steel works forms of labor to which he is totally unaccustomed. But it will be found that the peasant has selected precisely the work which suits his purpose, namely, a quick and sure accumulation of cash.

Usually it is the second generation which begins to rise above the economic level of the parents by other means than the accumulation of land, for at a certain point this means ceases to be effective. The increase of landed property is always limited by the contrary process of division among the children, and there are already many localities where no land can be bought at all owing to the fact that the larger estates have already been parceled. Under these circumstances the only remaining possibility of advance lies along the other line—increase of income through skilful farming and through industrial and commercial undertakings. A notable progress has already been accomplished along the first line. As a typical example, four sons divided among themselves their father's land, and now each of them has more income from his portion than the father had from the whole. Industrial undertakings develop more slowly. The

most important are mills, brick factories, the production of butter and cheese. The development of commerce is still slower. It is largely limited to trade in hogs, poultry, and fruit, and to petty shopkeeping in villages.

Among those who have left the country the second generation tends to higher wages, better instruction, and usually tries to rise above the ordinary working-class. The new milieu usually gives more opportunity, but requires more personal effort in order to rise, and it is therefore here that we find the greatest changes of attitudes.

Finally, education and imitation tend to create in the country another form of economic progress. The parents who cannot give their children land try to prepare them for higher positions by giving them a general and technical instruction instead of sending them to industrial centers, to Germany or America, as unskilled laborers.

During this evolution the economic attitudes become gradually adapted to the fundamental problem of economic advance. The result of this adaptation is that they cease to be social and become almost purely economic; they quantify all the material values and tend to increase the quantity. The economically progressive individual becomes approximately the classical "economic man"; that is, the economic side of his life is almost completely detached from the social side and systematized in itself, even if it continues to react to social influences. Or, in more exact terms, the general tendency to advance in the material conditions of existence effects in the peasant an analysis of his social life, and the result of this analysis is the constitution of a systematic body of new attitudes, social in their ultimate nature, but concerning merely material values and viewed with regard to the greatest possible increase of their enjoyment by the subject.

The evolution of property in this direction shows two phases: individualization and capitalization. As soon as

the problem of advance takes the place of the problem of living, the rôle of the individual in matters of property increases more and more at the cost of the family. When a certain amount of property was assumed and the question was merely how to live from it, the individual had no claim to the property at all; it was there beforehand, he was not concerned in any way with its origin and essence, but only with its exploitation. The basis of his existence was in the group, and he could only help to maintain this basis. But the situation was totally changed when he became an active factor in the modification of this basis. To be sure, to a certain extent even here the family could act as a unit without distinguishing the part played by individuals in this modification. The property often increased under the familial régime, and up to the present we find many examples of families behaving with solidarity in matters of advance as they behaved formerly in matters of living. But the tendency to advance has necessarily a dissociating element which the old type of solidarity cannot resist very long; only in modern co-operation has the problem of harmonizing economic advance and social solidarity been solved, as we shall see in a later volume. On the one hand, the part played by individual members of the family in the increase of property was not equal, and, when the social and moral side of familial solidarity began to weaken, those who were the most efficient began to feel the familial communism as an injustice. Still more important is the fact that the family as a whole could advance only slowly, and the progress made by one generation was followed by a regression in the next generation when the number of marriage-groups increased. Consequently the members in whom the tendency to advance was particularly strong and impatient began to consider the family group as no longer a help but a burden. And even those who, as heads of the family,

represented the familial principle assumed when they were particularly efficient an attitude of despotism which was in itself a step toward individualization and provoked also individualistic reactions from other members of the group. The more intense the desire to advance and the more rapid the progress itself, the more difficult it was to retain the familial form of property. The individuals began by claiming the products of their own activity; then the principle of individual ownership became extended to the hereditary familial land, and the last stage of this evolution is the quantitative division of the whole property—land, farm-stock, house furniture, and money—among individual members of the family. The only vestige of the old solidarity in such cases is the desire to keep the land, even if divided, as far as possible in the family. The same members, therefore, never receive cash and land, but these are apportioned separately, and there remains a tendency to favor those who take the land, in order to preserve this as far as possible intact. But this is only one side of the process. The familial property was the highest form of economic value, the ultimate aim of any economic change. Other forms of property could pass into it, but it could not pass into them. And property in general was an incomparably higher economic category than income; it was an end in itself, and its use as a means of existence was a secondary matter. It resulted from the nature of property that it could be used as a basis of living, but its value did not consist merely in the living which could be got out of it; the living was always an individual matter, while property corresponded to the group. The fact that the idea of property could never be subordinated to the idea of income made impossible the treatment of property as productive capital. All this was changed as soon as property became individual, but even then, indeed, its nature was not

completely exhausted by its being the source of an income, since it continued to stretch by heredity over more than one generation. Still this became its essential character and led to a revaluation of the various forms of property upon a new basis. The new valuation of every particular form of property on the basis of its productivity, of the amount and durability of the income which it brings, has two results: it gives a common measure of all the various forms of property, in spite of their qualitative differences, and it gives a greater fluidity to all forms of property—makes the change of one form into another relatively frequent and easy. The peasant in the country seldom reaches this complete capitalization of property, but he approaches it more and more. He already begins to think of individual fortune in terms of money, without enumerating separately land, farm-stock, money, and objects of private use; he compares goods with regard to their productivity, tries to increase this productivity by selling and buying, tries to change less productive for more productive goods of the same class (land for land, farm-stock for farm-stock), puts, not only his work, but also his money, in improvements, even such as require long waiting for the results. But even the most advanced peasant will not yet sell his land in order to start with this money a more productive business of a different nature unless he is already settled in a city or abroad, particularly in America. He will resign all property, sell his land, and emigrate in order to live elsewhere as a hired workman if his farm is too small to keep him and his family, but he seldom tries to exchange land for something else. The economic equivalence of land and other forms of property is not yet fully established.

The attitude with regard to income is undergoing a somewhat similar evolution. The individual effort to raise the income makes of this also an individual matter;

nobody has any longer the right to claim a part in its enjoyment, neither the community nor even the family. At the same time the qualitative distinctions between various sorts of income become meaningless under the influence of a new idea which we may term the standard of living. In a certain narrow sense the idea was not totally absent from the old economy. There was a social standard of living, adapted to the average economic level of the community and modified in each particular case with regard to the fortune of the family. There was in matters of food, clothing, lodging, and receptions a certain norm, and each family limited its scale of living both below and above, permitted it to be neither too modest nor too fastidious. The standard of living in the modern peasant economy, however, is very different. First, it is personal; the individual sets it himself, and he does not like any prescription of norms in this respect from either community or family. Again, it is virtual rather than actual; its essence lies in the power which the individual has over his economic environment by virtue of his income. Moreover, this power must express itself; but its expression is free, there is no particular line along which the income has to be spent. It may be spent mainly in acquiring property, or in acts of generosity, or in good eating, fine dressing, and lodging, or in amusements, or in all these together. The ways of spending may be varied as much as the individual pleases; stinginess along some lines may be equilibrated by lavishness along others. And, finally, the standard of living so conceived always concerns the future, not the present, because its meaning lies more in the possibility of spending than in spending itself; the individual sets a standard of what he can and will do. Such a standard therefore involves advance. The individual usually takes into account any foreseen increase of his economic power. The economic

standard of life becomes thus an economic ideal of life. And of necessity the relative fluidity of this standard, the postulated possibility of passing from one expression of power to another, requires the translation of every form of income into terms of money.

This attitude has been particularly developed among Polish immigrants in America, but it exists also in Poland among those who have succeeded in rising above the economic level of the preceding generation. It often becomes one of the sources of the general feeling of self-importance typical of successful climbers, and is one of which we find many examples in the present materials. It has an important influence upon various social attitudes, particularly in matters of marriage and in relations with the family and the community. We shall point out these consequences presently.

As increase of fortune and income is mainly effected through individual work, the attitude toward work becomes also essentially changed. Work was always a necessary condition of living, but living was not unequivocally determined by work; there were other factors complicating the relation—good or bad will of men, God's help, and the devil's harmful activity. And even when occasionally, as in hired daily labor, the relation between work and living was simple, the process, not the result of work, was regulated by it, and the duration and intensity of this process were limited by the actual needs of which the peasant was conscious; he worked only in order to satisfy a determined want. The search for better work which we find at a later period was at first merely an endeavor to get more pay for the same limited amount of activity. But all this was changed when advance, instead of living, became the end of work. There are no predetermined and steady limits of advance. In the tendency to rise the needs grow con-

tinually. The peasant begins to search, not only for the best possible remuneration for a given amount of work, but for the opportunity to do as much work as possible. No efforts are spared, no sacrifice is too great, when the absolute amount of income can be increased. The peasant at this stage is therefore so eager to get piece-work. It is well known in Germany that good Polish workers can be secured only if a large proportion of piece-work is offered them. And during the period when piece-work lasts (harvesting) the peasants often sleep and eat in the field, and work from sixteen to twenty hours a day. And as wages in Germany are about 50 per cent higher than at home, all the best workers prefer to go there rather than work on a Polish estate, though the work is much harder and treatment worse. They take the hardship and bad treatment into account, but accept them as an inevitable condition of higher income. When they come back, they take an absolute rest for two or three months and are not to be moved to do the slightest work, proving that work is still highly undesirable in itself and desirable only for the income which it brings. Another consequence of this new attitude is that instead of changing work if there is a slightest hope of immediate improvement, and without regard to the future (as expressed in contract-breaking and wandering from place to place), the peasant now begins to appreciate more and more the importance of a steady job, particularly in America.

But the evolution does not end here. When the relation of the results of work to wages has been once established through the medium of piece-work, a further step brings to the attention the difference of results and of wages between skilled and unskilled labor. The mere increase of the quantity of work proves more limited and less effective than the improvement of quality. While this difference was

abstractly known before, it acquires now a concrete, practical importance, since social evolution has opened new possibilities for the unskilled worker to pass into the skilled class, and the tendency to advance becomes sufficiently strong to overcome the old passivity and lack of initiative of the peasant. The problem of skilful and efficient work therefore begins to dominate the situation. At first the skill is valued only with regard to the income which it brings; but slowly and unconsciously the standpoint is shifted, and finally the skilled or half-skilled workman attains the level of the old guild hand-worker, is able to evaluate the results of his work and to be proud of his skill even without immediate reference to the remuneration. This reference changes its character. The question of earning a certain amount for some particular piece of work becomes secondary as compared with the general earning power of the individual. The ultimate level reached here is parallel with that which we found at the culmination of progress in matters of income. There the tendency to rise expressed itself finally in an ideal incorporating the highest possible buying power at a given stage. Here an increase in the general earning power is the object, and it finds its expression in a corresponding ideal which gives direction to the efforts to acquire a higher technical ability. Necessarily, these two ideals are closely connected, and we should expect that finally the question of buying-power would become secondary to that of earning-power; but the peasant does not seem to have reached this stage of systematization of the economic attitudes except in a few cases in America. The attitude of perfect security and independence with regard to the actual income can be acquired only by a man who has the consciousness of his own earning-power along the line of independent business and who is, moreover, not limited to a single specialty. But the Polish peasant, in the great majority of cases, had not

had time enough to develop the spirit of initiative and the rapid adaptability which characterize, for example, the native American. This explains, among other facts, why no Polish peasant has succeeded up to the present in making a really big fortune, either in America or at home. The fear of failure, resulting from a feeling of insufficient adaptation to the complexity of modern economic life, necessarily hinders the undertaking of great enterprises.

The economic attitudes expressed in the relations to other men undergo a parallel evolution. The economic importance of the family and the community diminishes very rapidly as the relations of the individual with the external world become more various and durable. It may happen indeed that an individual who in his habitual economic life is almost a modern business man still behaves occasionally in the traditional way in his relations with some member of the traditional groups. But this occurs only if those relations are few and rare and if the old attitudes do not hinder the individual's advance. Thus, for example, an emigrant who has been for many years in America and has become relatively rich will occasionally show an unexpected generosity toward some poor relative, often even without regard to the degree of familial connection—which is of course quite contrary to tradition. And it is quite typical that a peasant settled in a city or abroad will receive his fellow-countryman with particular hospitality, and when he visits for a short time his native village will treat all of his old friends and acquaintances in an ostentatious way. This occasional display of the old attitudes has in it, of course, much of showing off. The attitudes of solidarity may be in reality very weak, but they get strength from the desire to manifest the importance of the individual's own personality in a way which is sure to bring recognition in his old milieu.

But if the individual still lives among his family or in his community, the old economic attitudes are dropped as hindering advance. Usually the attitudes which were formerly applied to the community are now transferred to the family. The obligation of help is acknowledged only in matters of living, not of property, and to a limited extent. For example, a member of the family can enjoy the hospitality of another member, but only for a time not exceeding a few months, or varying in individual cases. After that time he has to pay for his living. In matters of property the attitude of help may still exist in the form of lending, but not of gift. The dominant principle is that of exchange of equivalent goods. The attitude formerly employed toward strangers may be extended in some measure to the community, though a real exploitation of the members of the community, as in the not infrequent case of usury, is condemned. Even the ritualized attitudes—for example, ceremonial receptions and gifts,—do not escape the influence of the general egotism; reciprocity begins to be expected and lack of reciprocity provokes contempt. Only in matters of marriage does the new evolution lead to a greater disinterestedness, because the possibilities of individual advance make marriages without dowry possible, and because the marriage-group, isolated from both families, behaves in economic matters as a single individual.

The new attitudes are thus to be sought in the individual's relation to the world outside of his community, which is now his real economic milieu. Here the dominant feature of economic advance is, as we have seen, a progressive adaptation to a higher and more complex economic organization, and every economic act takes the form of business; it is an investment with the expectation of a profit. The individual always wants to get from others more than he gives. In this way his behavior corresponds

to the classical economic type. His business acts are organized with regard to the future and constitute a practical system, a life-business. And as far as the individual meets others who have aims which interfere with his own, competition arises. The business attitudes are too well known to require analysis here. The point is that they did not exist at the beginning in the peasant's economic life, but appeared as the result of a long and complicated evolution.

3. In the second half of the past century, particularly after the unsuccessful revolution of 1863, there originated among the intelligent classes of the three parts of Poland a movement to enlighten and to organize the peasants in order to prepare them for a future participation in some new effort to recover national independence. The movement began in a different way in each part of Poland. In Galicia the starting-point was political organization, in Posen economic organization, in Russian Poland instruction. But gradually the problem of organization along all lines of social activity assumed an importance by itself, not alone with regard to a future revolution; and as the advance of modern militarism proved more and more the hopelessness of any endeavor to recover independence by arms, the idea of a national revolution almost lost its hold except in connection with the idea of social revolution or a European war. At present the social organization of the peasants is immediately connected with the problem of constituting a strong national unity of the social type as a substitute for national unity of the political type (the state), and economic organization is the most important part of this problem. All the traditional and modern economic attitudes, solidarity as well as individualism, are used to construct a new form of economic life based on co-operation. There is an imitation, of course, of the western peasant associations and labor

organizations, and the most self-conscious tendency in this line has been the importation of the English form of co-operation, but the whole movement has an original character through its connection with certain traditional attitudes on one hand and with the national ideal on the other. We shall study this movement in detail in our fourth volume.

The economic evolution of the Polish peasant gives us thus an exceptional opportunity to study the process of development of economic rationalism, since, in consequence of particular circumstances, the process has been very rapid, and all of its stages coexist at the present moment, as vestiges, as actual reality, or as the beginning of the future. We see that in the first stage economic life was completely subordinated to, and indissolubly connected with, social organization, that any methodological abstraction which constructs a system of economic attitudes as isolated from other social attitudes, and any theory which tries to deduce social organization from economic life, must fail. Then out of this first stage we see a new state of things developing—a historical status which corresponds practically with the classical economic theory. The economic life becomes abstracted in fact from the rest of social life; economic attitudes are elaborated which can be of themselves motives of human behavior. These are connected among themselves so as to constitute a rational practical system which is isolated in the consciousness of the individual from other spheres of interest, although occasionally interfering with them. But this is not a general law of economic life, only a particular historical status, due to the appearance of the tendency to economic advance. Finally, the third status, as we shall see in detail later on, realizes historically, in part, the socialistic doctrine of dependence of social organization upon economic life. The economic organization

becomes in fact one of the fundamental conditions of a social organization, of the social national unity. But this is effected only through particular historical conditions and under the influence of particular social and moral ideals.

We do not assert that the evolution of the Polish peasant gives us a general law of economic evolution. It did not go on independently of external influences, and the action of those influences cannot as yet be methodologically excluded. A study of other societies in different conditions is indispensable, because only by comparison will it be possible to determine what in the process of economic evolution of the Polish peasant is fundamental and what accidental.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL ATTITUDES[1]

The religious and magical life of the Polish peasant contains elements of various origin. There is still the old pagan background, about which we know very little and which was probably itself not completely homogeneous; there is Christianity, introduced in the tenth century, and gradually disseminated, partly absorbing, partly absorbed by, the old stock of beliefs; there are some other oriental elements, brought later by the Jews, the gipsies, infiltrated from Russia, Turkey, etc.; there are German elements, brought by the colonists; finally, much is due to the gradual popularization of the contents of classical literature and of mediaeval learning. It would be an impossible and useless

[1] In the following volumes we do not give a particular place to magic and religion as concrete data, partly because they do not possess for us relatively so great an importance, and partly because this is a field in which the data of peasant experience have been collected on a relatively complete and extensive scale—though these data have never been given a systematic sociological treatment. But on this account we offer here a relatively full treatment of the magical and religious elements in order to establish their proper importance in the peasant's scheme of attitudes and values. We have drawn freely as to details (but not as to theory) from Oskar Kolberg's great work, *Lud* ["The People"], and from the ethnographical materials published by the Cracow Academy of Sciences (*Materyały antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne*).

undertaking to attempt a historical analysis of this complex. What we seek at this point is a determination of the fundamental attitudes shown by the peasant in his religious and magical life, aside from the question of the origin of these attitudes and of the beliefs and rites in which they express themselves. And of these we find four partially independent types: (1) general animation of natural objects, but no spirits distinct from the objects themselves; solidarity of life in nature; no distinction possible between religion and magic; (2) belief in a world of spirits, partly useful, partly harmful, and distinct from natural objects; the beliefs are religious, the practice is magical; (3) absolute distinction of good and evil spirits; the relation with the good spirits is religious and expressed in social ceremonies, the relation with bad spirits is magical and established individually. (4) Introduction of mysticism, tendency to self-perfection and salvation; personal relation with the divinity.

Although it is possible that these types of attitude represent as many necessary stages in the development of religious life, this cannot be affirmed with certainty without comparative studies. And in a concrete religion like Catholicism we naturally find mixed elements representing various stages of religious evolution, and a concrete group or individual shows a combination, often a very illogical one, of attitudes belonging to various types.

1. All the natural beings—animals, plants, minerals, the heavenly bodies, and the earth—are objects of the peasant's interest and sympathy. His motives are not consciously utilitarian, although, as we shall see, natural objects are always in some way related to the man's life and welfare. We may perhaps assume that it is this general interest which causes the man to invent a direct utilitarian connection between himself and some natural object (a connection which in fact does not exist) when he wishes to justify his

interest rationally.[1] This point will become clearer when we determine the essence of the relation between man and nature.

But the fact that natural objects are related to man's welfare at all distinguishes this interest from the purely aesthetic one whose origin we shall analyze elsewhere. The common feature in both is the tendency to individualize. The individualization goes far. Not only all the domestic animals, but even the wild ones, are always, as far as possible, identified, which act sometimes (with domestic animals always) expresses itself in name-giving. Every tree, every large stone, every pit, meadow, field, has an individuality of its own and often a name. The same tendency shows itself in the individualization, often even anthropomorphization, of periods of time. At least one-third of the days of the year are individually distinguished, and the peasant never uses numbers for these dates, but always individual names. The Christian consecration of every day to a saint is very helpful in this respect, and the peasant usually substitutes (for example, in his innumerable proverbs) the saint for the day.[2] Tales in which months or days are anthropomorphized are frequent. The anthropomorphization itself is not serious, but it is a sign of the tendency to individualization. Thanks to this tendency, time becomes a part of nature, and individualized periods of time become natural objects. There is little trace of an analogous individualization of space, except the usual distinction of the six cardinal directions—objective: east, west, south,

[1] It is forbidden, for example, to touch a swallow's nest or even to observe the swallow too persistently when it is flying in and out of it. The rationalistic justification of this attitude is that the swallow may become angry and drop her excrement into the man's eye, causing blindness.

[2] For example: "When St. Martin comes upon a white horse, the winter will be sharp." Or: "St. Matthew either destroys the winter or makes it wealthy." Or: "If Johnny begins to cry and God's Mother does not calm him, he will cry till St. Ursula."

north, up, down; subjective: right, left, before, behind, up, down.

When individualization is impossible, as, for example, with regard to many wild animal species, there is at least a tendency to invent an imaginary individual which becomes then the representative and the head of the whole species. Thus we find everywhere the legend of a king of the serpents, whose crown in some tales a peasant succeeds in stealing; the wolves, deer, boars, hawks, owls, etc., have particularly old and powerful individuals whom they obey; in many tales there appear various individual animals and birds endowed with exceptional qualities and knowledge to whom their species has to listen, and even if in some cases these animals prove to be metamorphosed men, this is not essential at all, and even such changes, as we shall see, can be explained without any appeal to extra- or supra-natural powers.

For the interesting point in all this individualization of natural objects is that, while there are no spirits in or behind the objects, the latter are always animated, often conscious and even reasonable. To be sure, we find also spirits attached to objects in the peasant's belief, but these cases belong to a quite different religious system. In the system we are now considering we find only living beings whose life is not at all distinguished from its material manifestation—no opposition of spirit and body. The animals, the plants, the heavenly bodies, the earth, the water, the fire, all of them live and all of them think and know in varying degrees. Even individualized fields and meadows, even days and times of the year, have some kind of independent existence, life, and knowledge. The same characters belong in various degrees to manufactured objects and to words. In short, anything which is thought as individually existent is at the same time animated and endowed with some consciousness; the "animated and conscious thing" seems

to be a category of the peasant's thinking in the same sense that the mere "thing" or "substance" is a category of scientific reasoning. Or, more exactly, when a scientist isolates an object in thought in order to study it, his act is purely formal; the object does not (or rather, it should not) acquire in the eyes of the scientist any new property by being thought, except that of becoming the subject of a judgment. But the peasant, at least at the stage of intellectual culture which we study here in its vestiges, cannot isolate an object in thought without ascribing to it (unintentionally, of course) an independent existence as an animated and more or less conscious being.

We find innumerable examples of this attitude. If we take only one manifestation of nature's consciousness—her conscious reaction to man's activity—we see that up to the highest forms of animal life and down to the manufactured thing or to the animated abstraction of a time-period man's action is understood and intentionally reacted upon. An animal not only feels gratitude for good treatment and indignation at bad treatment, not only tries to reward or to avenge, but even understands human motives and takes them into account. This is not only shown in all the animal tales, but is manifested in everyday life. A peasant in whom this belief is still strong will never intentionally mistreat an animal, and tries to explain or to cause the animal to forget a mistreatment due to accident or anger. After the death of the farmer his heir has to inform the domestic animals of the death and to tell them that he is now the master. Some animals understand and condemn immoral actions of man even if these do not affect themselves. The bees will never stay with a thief, the stork and the swallow leave a farm where some evil deed has been committed; the same was formerly true of the house snake. As to the plants, if fruit trees grow well and bear fruit, if crops succeed,

it is not merely a result of a mechanical or magical influence of the man's activity; the plants are conscious of being well treated and show their gratitude. This must be taken literally, not metaphorically. We find the same belief dignified in the tales, where, for example, an apple tree bends its branches and gives its best fruit to a girl who cleaned its trunk from moss, and refuses anything to another who did not do this. The same literal sense is contained in a saying about the gratitude of the earth, which consciously rewards the laborer's well-intentioned and sincere work. Every field knows its real owner and refuses to yield to a usurper. The earth is indignant at any crime committed upon its face; it was crystalline before Cain killed Abel and became black after this. It sometimes refuses to cover a self-murderer, particularly one who has hanged himself. The sun sees and knows everything that happens during the day. If something is said against it, it punishes the offender, while it is no less susceptible to thanks and blessings. Prayers are still addressed on some occasions to the moon, and evil doings are to be performed rather when the moon does not see them. The stars understand the man who knows how to ask them, and give an answer literally and immediately in the form of inspiration, not mediately, through the calculation of their positions, as in astrology. The water should not be dirtied or dried up. Nothing bad should be done or said near it, because it knows and can betray. In the tales a pit shows the same gratitude for being cleaned as the apple tree. Fire is perhaps still more animated and conscious, and there is a peculiar respect shown toward it. The children who play with the fire are told: "Don't play with the fire. It is not your brother." The fire should be kept with the greatest care and cleanliness, blessed when lighted in the morning, blessed when covered with ashes at night. Once a year (on St. Lauren-

tius' Day) the old fire is extinguished and a new one lighted, both ceremonies being accompanied with thanks and blessings. Fire should never be lent, either from respect or because it is particularly connected with the family. There is a tale of two fires meeting; one of them praised its hostess for treating it well, the other complained that its hostess mistreated it, kept it carelessly, and never blessed it. Then the first fire advised the second to avenge itself, and on the following night the second burned the house of its hostess. Nothing offensive should be said against any natural phenomenon—wind, thunderstorm, hail, rain, cold—or against a season of the year; vengeance may follow. Again, we have tales in which anthropomorphized natural phenomena (e.g., frost, wind) prove grateful for good and revengeful for bad treatment. A peculiar attitude can be noticed with regard to the days of the year. Each day, in view of its individuality, is particularly fit for determined action,[1] or, more exactly, reacts favorably upon some actions, unfavorably upon others. But, more than this, each day returns the next year and can then avenge a bad action or reward a good action committed last year. Thence comes mainly the importance of anniversaries. The same is true of week-days and months, and we find here also the exaggeration of the normal attitude in tales, where days and months are anthropomorphized. Traces of the same (but here only half-conscious) belief that things understand are found in the peasant's unwillingness to change the pronunciation of words or to play with them; the pun is seldom if ever used by the peasant as a mere joke. Nor should words ever be misused, great words applied to petty things, etc. Finally,

[1] There is scarcely any relation between this belief and astrology. Of all the mediaeval magical doctrines astrology was the last to reach the peasant, when he already knew how to read almanacs; like all other book-doctrines, it reached him in disconnected fragments, while the belief stated in the text is systematically applied to the whole year.

the power of blessings and curses depends in a certain measure upon the immanent life of the words. It seems natural to explain this respect for words by a magical connection between the word as a symbol and the thing symbolized, because for us the word is nothing but a symbol, and we have difficulty in imagining how a word can have life and power in itself independently of any relation to something else. But for the peasant the word is not only a symbol, it is a self-existent thing. We find also, as will be shown, magical power ascribed to the word, but then we are in a different system of beliefs. The attitude toward the word as an independent being exists. This fact we must fully recognize, and only then can we raise the further question whether there is any direct genetic relation between this attitude and the magical one.

In connection with the objects made by man the animating tendency is expressed perhaps less clearly than in connection with natural objects, but it is essentially the same. No object should be hurt, destroyed, soiled, neglected, or even moved without necessity and this not because of utilitarian considerations alone nor because of the fear of magical consequences, although those reasons are also active. The object has an individuality of its own, and, even if it is not alive and conscious in the proper sense, it has a certain tendency to maintain its existence. There are cases of an almost intelligent vengeance taken by man-made objects, and in tales they are also often endowed with consciousness and speech. The animation decreases in the case of objects whose process of manufacture has been observed, and disappears sometimes (but not always) almost completely in the case of those which the individual has made himself. And the latter are also the only ones which the individual has sometimes implicitly the moral right to destroy, if he does so immediately after having made them. By existing for a certain time they acquire immunity.

The intelligence of natural objects, particularly of animals, manifests itself, not only in the conscious reaction upon human activity, but also in other lines. While the animal does not know everything man knows, every animal has knowledge about some matters which remain hidden from man. The properties of wild plants and of minerals have been mainly learned by man from the animals, and he has yet much to learn. For example, swallows and lizards know herbs which can resuscitate the dead; the turtle know an herb which destroys every fence and wall, breaks every lock, etc. The snakes and the wild birds are the most knowing, but the quadrupeds, even the domestic ones, understand some things better than man. Another knowledge which all the animals possess to some degree is the prevision of future events, particularly changes of weather and deaths. If man carefully watches their behavior, he can avoid many mistakes, and he would be still wiser if he understood their language. The plants, heavenly bodies, earth, water, and fire have the same knowledge of one another's properties and the same prevision of the future, but in varying degrees.

Nevertheless, except in tales, where all the anthropomorphic properties of natural objects are exaggerated, we can hardly say that in point of knowledge man is generally inferior to his environment. In some matters he knows less, but in others more. There is no contrast of any kind between man and nature. Man is a being of the same class as any natural object, although men understand one another better and are more closely connected with one another than with the animals or plants. In saying that man is a being of the same class we mean also that he has no spirit distinct from the body, leaving it temporarily in dreams and forever in death. As to dreams, there is no trace of the belief that a part of the personality, a soul in any sense whatever, leaves the body and visits other places.

This explanation exists, but in connection with another system of beliefs. The fact of seeing everything in dreams seems to call for no explanation at all, because it is simply assimilated to the fact of imagining things in the waking state; it is too naturally accepted to be a problem. The problem appears only in connection with prophetic dreams, explicit or symbolical, but here again it is not distinct from other facts of prophecy or second sight found in the waking state, and the explanation is made, not on a theory of the soul, but, as we shall see presently, on the basis of the whole conception of the natural world. As to death, there is certainly a "spirit" which leaves the body, but it is only "vapor" or "air" which dissolves itself in the environment. The body simply loses the part of its vital power of which the "air" or "vapor" is a condition, in the same way as it loses in sleep the power of voluntary movement, seeing, and hearing. And even then the body is not really dead; it is never quite dead as long as it exists, for under certain influences it may come to full life again. It may awake periodically at certain moments, or, if it has a particularly strong vitality, it may live indefinitely in the tomb, coming out every night to eat. This is the case with the vampire. A man who will be a vampire can be distinguished even during his life by the redness of his cheeks, his strength, his big teeth. And all of this has nothing to do with the question of a returning soul.

This, however, is only a partial life. To have a real second life the body must be destroyed, and then the man is regenerated and lives again, in this world or in some other. The regeneration is nothing particular. Every year the whole of nature is regenerated from death. There are cases of men who, without waiting for natural death, let their bodies be destroyed and arose again, young and powerful. In other cases the regeneration in this world took place in the form of a tree, a lily, an animal, etc. Thus regeneration

in another world is a fact classed with many other perfectly natural facts. The only difference is that the man usually lives his second life somewhere else, out of reach of his friends, though sometimes mystical communication is possible. The instrument of destruction and regeneration can be either fire or earth. The purificatory properties of fire make it particularly fit for destruction, the fecundity of the earth for regeneration. Both cremation and burial were used in funerals at different epochs, and agriculture gave analogies of regeneration by both means. In primitive agriculture the forest was burned and the soil acquired a particular fertility. The branch of the willow placed in the earth grows into a tree.

Now this whole world of animated and more or less conscious beings is connected by a general solidarity which has certainly a mystical character, because the ways of its action are usually not completely accessible to observation and cannot be rationally determined, but whose manifestations express the same moral principle as the solidarity of the family and of the community. Even in the reaction of nature upon man's activity which we have indicated in the examples enumerated above, this solidarity is manifested. But we find still more explicit proofs. There is a solidarity between certain plants and certain animals. When the animal (for example, a cow) is sick, the peasant finds the proper plant, bends it down, and fastens its top to the ground with a stone, saying: "I will release you when you make my cow well." The same evening the cow will recover. Then the man must go and release the plant, or else on the next day the cow will fall sick again and die. Similarly animals are interested in plants and can influence them. Hence the numerous ways of assuring good crops or the successful growth of fruit trees through the help of animals. A stork nesting upon the barn makes a full barn. A furrow drawn around a field by a pair of twin oxen insures

it against hail, and the same means is used against the pest, with the addition that twin brothers must lead the oxen. Sparrows should be allowed to eat cherries in summer and grain in winter, and pigeons should be allowed to eat peas, because these birds are allies and companions of man, and for their share in the crops help them to grow. If there are many maybugs in spring, it means that millet will be good. The cuckoo can call only till the crops have ceased to blossom, because then they fall asleep and the bird ought not to wake them.

There is also a relation of solidarity between the earth (also the sun) and all living beings, which is strikingly expressed in such beliefs as the following: The earth can communicate its fecundity to an animal (for example, to a sterile cow), and, on the other hand, the fecundity of animals or women can be communicated to a sterile field. The sun should not look upon dead animals, because it is disturbed, sets in blood, and may send hail and rain. Fires lighted on the eve of St. John (June 24), in some localities before Easter, make the crops succeed—an old pagan custom. There is also solidarity between the fire and all living beings. It is used in many mystical actions whose aim is to increase life, and it should never be fed with anything dead (remnants of dead animals; straw from the mattress of a dead man, or even remnants of wood left after the making of a coffin), unless of course the aim is the regeneration of the dead object.[1] The same is true, although perhaps in a lesser degree, of water.[2]

[1] A particular solidarity exists between the fern and the fire; therefore nobody should plant the fern near his house, or else the house will burn. In general, the fern is a privileged plant. Whoever finds its flower (it is supposed to blossom at midnight, June 24) sees all the treasure under the earth and all the things which were lost or stolen.

[2] We shall speak later of the magical use of fire and water as symbols of mystical powers; here their influence results from their own nature and their solidarity with other beings.

But between beings of the same class the principle of solidarity is still more evident. Plants are solidary and sympathetic with one another. Therefore the success of some of them results in the success of others, and, on the contrary, the destruction of any kind of plants never goes alone, but influences the lot of others. Predictions can be made about crops from the observation of wild plants, and this can hardly be interpreted as a rational inference based upon the knowledge that these plants need the same atmospheric conditions. No such explanation is in fact attempted, even when the peasant is asked for the reason of his belief. Among animals the solidarity is still greater. The house snake is solidary with the cattle and poultry; if it is well treated all the domestic animals thrive, but if it is killed they will certainly die. The same kind of sympathy exists between the goat (also the magpie) and the horses. If a swallow's nest is destroyed or a swallow killed, the cows give bloody milk. The cow is also related by some mysterious link with the weasel; whenever a cow dies some weasel must die, and reciprocally. When there is danger the animals warn one another. In autumn the redbreast rises high in the clouds and watches; when the first snowflake falls upon his breast he comes down and informs everybody, calling: "Snow, snow!" (*śnieg*). Again, night animals are more closely connected with one another than with others. But animals of the same species are naturally more solidary than those of different species, and their solidarity is less mysterious, because more often observable empirically and more easily interpreted by analogy with the human solidarity. An animal, particularly a wild one, can always call all its mates to its rescue if attacked or wounded, and there is always some danger in hunting even the apparently most inoffensive animals.

The knowledge ascribed to natural objects is also as much a sign of solidarity as of intelligence, because it is

always a knowledge about other natural objects, either a result or a cause of the mystical affinity between them. We cannot omit here the analogy between social life and nature. In social life solidarity reaches as far as the sphere of the peasant community, that is, as far as people know one another or about one another, and only secondarily and accidentally, under the influence of the belief that a guest may be the bearer of some unknown power, is it applied to the stranger. Nature is also a primary group, and man belongs to this group as a member, perhaps somewhat privileged, but not a "king of creation." The attitude of natural beings toward him, as well as his attitude toward them, is that of sympathetic help and respect. Nature is actively interested in man's welfare. The sun gives him warmth and light (in tales it considers this to be its moral duty), the earth gives him crops, fruit trees give fruit, springs and rivers give water. Domestic animals give him milk, eggs, wool, the dog watches his house, the cat keeps the mice away from his food, the bees give honey and wax, the stork, snake, swallow, and mole give him general happiness, the magpie brings him guests, the fire prepares food for them. The cuckoo makes him rich or poor for the year, according to the amount of money (or some other possession) he has in his hand when hearing its voice for the first time. And all this is not a metaphor; the "giving" is to be understood really, as a voluntary act. Other animals, particularly birds, advise him what to do. The lark, the quail, the landrail, the pigeon, the sparrow, the frog, etc., tell him when to begin some particular farm-work, their calls being interpreted as indistinctly pronounced phrases. And at every moment he is warned by some intentional sign against misfortune. If a hare or a squirrel runs across his way, it is an advice to return. The horse foretells a good or bad end of the journey; the dog foresees fire, pest, war, and warns

his master by howling; the owl foretells death or birth, etc. The mice help the children to get good teeth if the child's tooth is thrown to them and they are asked to give a better one. Any sickness which befalls the man or his farm-stock is healed by the help of animals and plants, for this is the essence of medicine in the system of beliefs which we are now analyzing. We find an enormous number of remedies against sickness, and among the oldest of them some which contain not the slightest trace of magical symbolism and also are not based upon the concept of purely physical action, but can be explained only by the idea of sympathetic help. We have seen that plants by being bent are compelled to help the domestic animals; there are plants which act remedially by the mere act of growing in the garden; others which destroy sickness when brought home on Easter or Pentecost (ancient pagan spring holidays, symbolizing the awakening of nature), St. John's Eve (midsummer holiday), or on Mary's Day (August 15, and harvest-home holiday). And probably many of the plants used internally or applied to the body owe their power to the mystical solidarity, not to the magical or mechanical influence. There is no doubt that the same attitude prevails with regard to animals, at least when the help of the animal is asked, though in the use of various parts of the dead animal we find mainly the magical attitude, and this is quite the contrary of the attitude of mystical solidarity. Thus, while from the latter standpoint the killing of a snake is a crime, we find in the magical system of beliefs that the ointment made from a snake killed and boiled (or boiled alive) in oil is among the most efficient remedies.[1]

[1] The use of stones seems to be mainly magical. There is, for example, a small stone which, as the peasant believes, comes from sand melted by lightning, and this is particularly efficient, because it has a symbolical relation to the power of the lightning. But in some cases a stone helps by its own immanent power, and these stones are usually found by birds and reptiles, and their use is learned from them.

Plants and animals have also the power of provoking toward a given person favorable feelings in others, and of promoting in general the social solidarity among men. In addition to magical love-charms we find also some plants which when sown and cared for by a girl help her to succeed with boys, without any magical ceremony. The stork, the snake, and the swallow, among other functions, keep harmony in the human family with which they live.

Finally, even with regard to the beings whose relation toward man is not determined (spiders, moths, flies) or which may even seem harmful (bugs, mosquitoes, fleas, etc.) the normal attitude is expressed in the words: "We don't know what they are for, but they must have some use." And, as most of the old beliefs are interpreted now from the Christian standpoint, a peasant says to a boy who wants to kill a frog: "Don't do it. This creature also praises our Lord Jesus." Christian legends are indeed connected with most of the natural beings who have a mystical value. Healing properties of certain plants brought in on the midsummer day are explained by the legend that the head of St. John when it was cut off fell among these plants. The lark, which soars so high, is the favorite bird of the angels; during a storm they hold it in their hands, and when, with every lightning-flash, the heaven opens, it is allowed to look in. The nightingale leads the choir of birds which sing to the Virgin Mary on her assumption day, etc.

Although the belief in the solidarity of nature is most evidently manifested in connection with isolated and somewhat extraordinary occurrences, we see that it pervades, in fact, the whole sphere of the peasant's interests.

The solidarity of nature, in the peasant's life, is neither a matter of theoretical curiosity nor an object of purely aesthetic or mystical feelings aroused on special occasions.

It has a fundamental practical importance for his everyday life; it is a vital condition of his existence. If he has food and clothing and shelter, if he can defend himself against evil and organize his social life successfully, it is because he is a member of the larger, natural community, which cares for him, as for every other member, and makes for him some voluntary sacrifices whose meaning we shall investigate presently. Even the simplest act of using nature's gifts assumes, therefore, a religious character. The beginning and the end of the harvest, storing and threshing the crops, grinding the grain, milking the cow, taking eggs from the hen, shearing the sheep, collecting honey and wax, spinning, weaving, and sewing, the cutting of lumber and collecting of firewood, the building of the house, the preparation and eating of the food—all the acts involving a consumption of natural products were or are still accompanied by religious ceremonies, thanksgivings, blessings and expiatory actions. And here we meet a curious fact. Usually when a tradition degenerates the rite persists longer than the attitude which was expressed in it. But here the old rites have often been forgotten, more often still changed into Christian ceremonies (religious or magical), while the attitude persists unchanged. This is an evident sign that the essence of the old belief is still preserved. Christianity has been able to destroy the rite but not the attitude. There is a particular seriousness and elation about every one of those acts, a gratitude which only by second thought is applied to the divinity and first of all turns to nature, a peculiar respect, expressing itself, for example, in the fear of letting the smallest particle of food be wasted, and a curious pride, when nature favors the man (with a corresponding humiliation in the contrary case), quite independent of any question of successful efforts, and reminding us of the pride which a man feels when he is favored by his human community.

And man must in turn show himself a good member of the natural community, be as far as possible helpful to other members. Many old tales express explicitly this idea. The hero and heroine are asked for help by animals, plants, mountains, water, fire, etc., in distress, and they give it out of the feeling of sympathy, often without any idea of reciprocity, although some reciprocal service usually follows. These extraordinary cases give, as usually, only a more evident and striking expression of a habitual attitude. But every work done in order to increase and to protect life assumes the character of an act of solidarity and has a religious value. Work is sacred, whenever its immediate aim is help. Plowing the field, sowing, sheltering and feeding the domestic animals, digging ditches and wells, are actions of this kind. They have, of necessity, human interest in view, but this would not be enough to make them sacred. They consist mainly in a mere preparation of conditions in which the immanent solidarity of nature can work better.

On the other hand, any break of solidarity is immediately punished. Some examples have been given, but there is an innumerable quantity of them. Cutting a fruit tree means sure death to the criminal. Killing a stork is a crime which can never be pardoned. In old times a man who killed a house snake ceased to be a member of the human community, probably because he was no longer a member of the natural community. A man who kills a dog or a cat is up to the present avoided by everybody unless indeed he shoots these animals, for curiously enough this is tolerated. Even lack of solidarity among men is avenged by nature. We have already seen that the stork leaves a house where some evil deed has been committed. If someone refuses a pregnant woman anything which she asks for, mice will destroy his clothes. The destructive forces of

nature (about which we shall speak presently) usually abide, when personified, upon the ridges between fields, because those places are desecrated by human quarrels and hate. The bees give testimony to the purity of the girl and the honesty of the boy by not stinging them. And so on.

In this system of attitudes the relation between bad work and bad results in agriculture is not that of a purely physical causality, but that of a moral sanction. If nature does not yield anything to a lazy and negligent man, it is to avenge his neglect of the duties of solidarity. And the sanction may be expressed in a quite unexpected way, on a different line from that of the offense. A neglect of the duties of solidarity toward some animals or insects may be punished by bad crops; careless behavior with regard to fire or water may result in some unsuccess with domestic animals, etc.

But there is always a certain amount of destruction necessary for man to live; all actions cannot be helpful and productive. And in nature itself there are hostilities and struggles, not solidarity alone. How is this to be reconciled with the beliefs stated above?

In order to understand these partly apparent, partly real breaks of solidarity we must know what is the general meaning, the aim of this solidarity itself. It cannot be a struggle with the external world, for the solidarity embraces the whole world; nor a struggle with any evil principle, because there seems to be no evil principle in nature; nor yet the struggle against bad and harmful beings, for there are no beings essentially bad and harmful. The only reason for nature's solidarity is a common struggle against death, or rather against every process of decay, of which death is the most absolute and typical form. Sickness, destruction, misery, winter, night, are the main phenomena correlated with death.

It is really difficult to say how far this essentially negative idea of death is interpreted as meaning a positive entity, because the peasant's attitude toward it seems not to be quite consistent. On the one hand, indeed, death with all the connected evils has no place within the community of nature. It is neither a natural being nor a natural force, for there are no forces distinct from individual things, there is no trace of a philosophical abstraction to which any kind of reality could be ascribed. There is therefore only a plurality of phenomena of decay, each of which separately seems to be nothing but a result of the immanent weakness of the decaying thing itself—everything "has to die," is "mortal"—or of a harmful influence of some exterior natural things which make a break in solidarity or punish such a break. But, on the other hand, death as an objectified concept is an animated thing and can be anthropomorphically represented, like other phenomena of decay. We know by tradition of two usual shapes which death assumes —that of a nebulous woman in white and that of a skeleton. The latter seems to be derived from Christian paintings. But it can change its shapes and appear in the form of an animal, plant, or any other natural object; it may also be, as in some tales, shut up by man in a cask, buried in the earth, etc. It likes also to stay on ridges between fields and about hedges. In short, it has no exclusive form or abode and differs therefore from natural beings, while there is an evident analogy between it and the spirits. The same is true of diseases (pest, fever) and sometimes of "misery." Winter has a little more of the character of a natural being. We find here a hesitation between attitudes and a type of belief intermediary between naturalism and spiritualism, resulting from the fact that for death, diseases, misery (poverty), etc., as independent beings there is no place in the community of nature and therefore they must, if anthropo-

morphized at all, stay outside. But precisely for this reason this is the only case where objectification and animation have no essential importance. The activity of every natural object and its relation with others result, as we have seen, from its character as an animated and conscious being. But it is not so with death. It is impossible to interpret all the actual facts of death in nature by the activity of the death-spirit, and such interpretation is never attempted. We find at most the fact of human death explained in this way. This limitation of the activity of the death-spirit to the human world is still more evident with regard to the "bad air" or "black death," that is, the pest, which is more distinctly represented as a woman, sometimes flying on bat-wings, sometimes waving a red kerchief above villages and towns; but this "black death," whose essence is quite inexplicable for the peasant, is afraid of many natural beings—of water, fire, reptiles. In short, as soon as death is conceived as a being, its power is limited; and it is not at all identical with a general principle of natural decay. Such a conception seems, therefore, to be a late result of evolution, going on with a separation between the human and the natural world. The more determined the image of death (as well as of disease, misery, etc.), the farther we are from the primitive naturalistic system. It is probable, therefore, that originally death, more or less vaguely identified with disease, misery, winter, meant an undetermined "something," "it," or "the evil"—rather a species than a unique entity, having just enough reality to provoke a mixed and characteristic attitude of dread, hate, and disgust which the peasant manifests in the presence of anything connected with death.

This attitude is found in the aversion which the peasant always shows to talking about death, passing near a cemetery or near a place where someone died, staying with a

dead body, etc. It is bad luck to meet a coffin containing a dead body, and particularly to look after it. The straw from the last bed and the splinters left from the coffin should not be left in the house, because somebody else may die in the house. (We have seen that they should not be burned out of respect for the fire.) For the same reason no one should look into a mirror which hung in the dead person's room during death, and no member of the family should throw earth upon the coffin when it is sunk into the grave. All these beliefs are magical, but they show how fundamental is the dread of death. And anyone who by his occupation has some connection with death is more or less feared, hated, and despised—the executioner, the gravedigger, even the women who wash and dress the body. A person who cuts down the body of a hanged man, even with the best intentions, is particularly shunned. This attitude prevails with regard also to animal death. Those who have something to do with killing animals and preparing their bodies are avoided almost as much as the executioner. Among these are the dog-catchers, tanners and skin-dealers, butchers (if they kill), etc. All these functions were therefore usually performed by Jews, or by men who had little to lose. Up to the present, in Russian Poland the dog-catchers are often men who at the bidding of the authorities act as the executioners of political offenders, and most of the butchers and skin-dealers are still Jews. But hunting does not provoke this attitude, perhaps because in old times it was indispensable to defend the crops and the domestic animals.

The same attitude, as we have already seen in some examples, is ascribed to other natural beings. The sun hates the sight of death; animals and plants foresee it for themselves and for the man; they avoid and despise anybody who brings death, they will not abide in a place soiled with death, etc. Only earth, water, and fire, while they

should never be profaned uselessly by anything connected with death, are still, in a sense, above the dread, because they have a power over death.

Sickness (except pest), misery, and winter do not provoke the attitude of dread and hate to the same extent because, although they are varieties of the same evil, their influence is weaker, they are more easily avoided, and their effect is more easily repaired.

But this dread of death never rises to a tragical pitch, never leads to a pessimistic view of existence or to fatalism. The tragic attitude comes only with Christianity, with sin, the devil, and hell. In the naturalistic religious system life is always ultimately victorious over death, thanks to the solidarity of living beings. Within certain limits, death, total or partial (for example, sickness, misery), can be avoided through reciprocal help, and when it comes it is always followed by regeneration. And this explains at the same time the necessity of sacrifice, required from all the natural beings by the natural solidarity, and the possibility of sacrifice, since no sacrifice is ultimate in view of the future regeneration.

The life of every natural being can be maintained only by willing gifts of other beings, which may go as far as a voluntary gift of life. In many tales we find animals consciously sacrificing their life for the sake of man or of one another, even if this sacrifice proves usually only temporary, because the animal is regenerated in the human form, which was its primitive form. In some legends animals and plants sacrifice themselves for the Virgin Mary, or for Jesus during his human life. A reward usually follows. In everyday life there is no explicit acknowledgment of the readiness of natural beings to sacrifice themselves, but implicitly this readiness is assumed; while, as we know, any useless destruction of life is a crime because a break of solidarity, a

destruction which is necessary to maintain the life of other beings, is permitted. This applies indifferently to man and nature. We find the story of a girl, the ward of a village elder, whom the latter buried alive during the pest, making thus an expiatory sacrifice in order to save the life of the rest of the inhabitants. Man is justified in killing animals for food, but never more than he actually needs and not for sale, although, sophistically enough, he may sell the living animal knowing that it will be killed. He can cut trees to build a house or a barn, but it is not fair to cut them for sale. Dry wood should be used as firewood, and only when none can be found is it licit to fell some tree; old or poorly growing trees should be selected for this purpose, even if the forest belongs to the state or to a manor, and therefore no utilitarian considerations prevail. The only case in which it is permitted to cut, sell, or burn any trees is when the land is to be turned to agricultural purposes, because here destruction will be expiated by production. The man may destroy the insects which damage his crops or the rats in his barn, but it is always better to drive them away by some means—to frighten them, for instance, by catching and maltreating one of their number. The wolf is justified in eating other animals, but man is also justified in slaying him. In short, every living being has the right to get its living and to defend itself against death or decay in any form, and other beings have to acknowledge this right; but every destruction beyond the necessary is a crime, and then retaliation is just. And there is, in this respect, no essential difference of value between man and animal which would justify destroying life for his purposes. We have an interesting story which shows this very plainly. A lark complains to a hungry wolf that a mole threatens to destroy her nest with her young ones—an unnecessary act of destruction, since the mole should take the trouble to pass around

the nest. The wolf helps her and kills the mole, but on the condition that the lark will procure him food, drink, and amusement. The lark does this, but at the cost of a human life, and this situation is morally all right.

The idea that natural things may be destroyed only if there is an immediate relation between them and actual needs of living beings explains the peasant's aversion toward the industrial exploitation of nature on a large scale. Indeed in this exploitation the relation between the act of destruction and the need to be satisfied becomes so remote and mediate, and the needs themselves are so abstract when viewed from the standpoint of the traditional industrial activity, that the peasant fails to see any adequate reason for destruction, and the latter seems a crime against natural solidarity. Such is always the first reaction of the peasant when a sawmill, a brewery, or a sugar factory is set up, a railway built, or a mine dug; perhaps even the use of agricultural machines is disliked partly because through them the relation of man toward nature becomes impersonal and devoid of warmth and respect.

But the sacrifice of life necessary to support the life of others is, as we have said, never ultimate. Regeneration always comes unless death was a punishment for a break of solidarity. The ideal is a regeneration of the same individual in the same form, that is, resurrection. This ideal is depicted in tales. We find it in the pagan funeral ceremonies, where the dead man was burned with his horse, his dog, his agricultural instruments, arms, etc. In Christian legends actual present resurrection, not a future life in heaven, is the favorite theme, and traces of this belief are found also in the tales of today. The annual return of leaves and fruits to the trees, the recovery from a sickness, the melting of ice on the rivers, the phases of the moon, eclipses, the growing heat of the sun in spring, the lighting

of a fire which was kept under the ashes, and other analogous phenomena are conceived as partial resurrections after a partial death. And whenever resurrection cannot be admitted attention is turned at least to the continuity of successive generations, and the connection between generation and regeneration in the peasant's mind is thus very close. The familial attitude, the continuity of the family in spite of the death of its members, the lack of purely individual interests, certainly gave a particular strength to this partial identification of the resurrection of the individual with the regeneration of life in new individuals. The appreciation of home-bred domestic animals above those purchased, the unwillingness to change seeds, manifested even now in many localities, may have their background also in the same attitude.

Even when the continuity of generations is lacking, however, the idea of regeneration is not absent. The dead may appear in a different form, or a different individual may appear in his place. Between these two ideas the distinction is not sharply drawn, and sometimes we do not know what the real idea is. The changing of men, animals, and plants into one another—a particularly frequent subject of tales and legends—gives us definitely the first idea; the individual is the same throughout the process of regeneration, in spite of a different form, and may assume sometimes his preceding form. The change, we must remember, is quite real and should never be interpreted as a mere assuming by a spirit of different bodily appearances. The second idea, that of new individuals appearing in the place of the old ones, is found when, after the burning of a forest, crops grow upon the same soil, when a new fruit tree is planted upon the spot where another grew, when worms are "born from" a dead body. But in such examples as the following: a willow growing upon the grave of a girl

and betraying her sister as her murderer; lilies growing upon the grave of a murdered husband and betraying the wife, we cannot tell whether it is the same living being or another. And it is easy to understand that in view of the general solidarity of nature this question has not a very great importance. As the familial attitude helps to obliterate the distinction between individual regeneration and generation, so the close solidarity of communal life and the corresponding social attitude make the difference between change of form and change of individual a secondary one. Death is regarded both from the individual standpoint and from that of the group; and while from the first it is of great importance whether the same individual or another is regenerated, for the group it signifies relatively little, so long as the number and value of the individuals are not diminished. Death is dreaded in general for the human or natural group, but the dread is much weaker when only the death of a particular individual, even of the subject himself, is in question. The peasant is able to prepare himself calmly for his own death or for that of his dearest ones, but he grows almost insane with fear when a calamity menaces the whole community. The memory of pest and war has lived for two centuries in some localities.

Of course, the easier the regeneration, the less importance ascribed to death and to acts of destruction. In general therefore, man is freer to use plants than animals, though the question of a higher degree of consciousness and individualization and of a greater similitude with man plays a part here. Among plants, again, those are more freely used which are regenerated every year. When the forests in Poland were large, the inhibitions with regard to trees (except fruit trees) were much weaker than they are now; the forest seemed to restore itself easily and spontaneously. Among the animals, aside from the question of

economic value, the more productive ones are less appreciated individually—more readily sold or killed, etc.

The religious system which we have sketched does not require any magician, priest, or mediator of any kind between the layman whose everyday occupations keep him within the sphere of profanity and the sacred powers which are too dangerous to be approached without a special preparation. Here every man in his practical life is continually in touch with the religious reality, is supported and surrounded by it, is an integrate part of the religious world. The opposition of sacred and profane has no meaning in this system; if sometimes it appears later, it is only when the religious attitude toward nature encounters an irreligious one.

But there is another practical problem connected with the present system which makes a religious specialist necessary. In order to prosper within the community of nature, the peasant must know the relations which exist among the members of this community. He must know his own rights and duties; he must know how to make good an offense against the group of which he is a part, how to avoid vengeance, how to conciliate the good-will of, and to get help from, his fellow-members. The relations in the natural society are still more various and complicated than in the human society, and it is indispensable to know the degree and the kind of solidarity between any and all natural beings in order to act upon one through another. Last but not least, only a man who knows nature and understands the warnings and signs which other beings give to him can foresee future events and direct his activity according to this foresight. But it is evident that the ordinary man has among his occupations no time to acquire all this knowledge, even if he is sufficiently intelligent. Thence comes the necessity of a specialist, of a "person who knows." A man who "knows" is usually called *wróż* or *wiedzący*,

"prophet" (augur) or "knower"; a woman *mądra*, "the wise one." Both should be strictly distinguished from the magician and witch on the one hand, the priest on the other, although actually they often degenerate individually into magicians and witches. The *wróż* is often recruited from among those who have to deal much with nature and have leisure enough to learn what they need to know—bee-keepers, shepherds, sometimes foresters, but seldom hunters or fishermen, whose occupation requires killing. Woman's activity in peasant life is less specialized, and therefore any woman, but usually one who has not many children, can become a *mądra*. There are somewhat more wise women than men, probably because the woman's usual occupations involve a closer relation with plants and domestic animals, and because the woman finds more easily the necessary leisure; but this numerical difference is not even approximately so great as that between magicians and witches, and this shows that the sex as such has no importance in matters of "knowing," while it has much in magic.

The fundamental functions of the wise man or woman are to preserve from generation to generation the store of naturalistic-religious "knowledge," including the legends and tales, and to give practical advice and help. They are paid for their advice, but they never try to harm anyone as the witches do, and can be moved by no reward to do this, because they are afraid of incurring the vengeance of the natural community. Their usual answer in such cases is, "I am not allowed to do this." With regard to the Christian religion they behave rather indifferently. They go to church, perform the rites, use Christian formulae in their conjurations, but they do it rather in order to get credit among the people and not to be identified with witches and magicians than from true Christian feeling. On the other hand, they never use Christian sacred objects in a perverted

sense, and sacrilege has no value for them as it has for the witches and magicians. In fact, not only are there no magical elements in their practice, but they are able to destroy magic. They recognize magical influences easily; they know at once a magician or a witch and show a curious attitude of hate and contempt for them. Their main means of destroying magic is conjuration, in which they address themselves to the spirit in the bewitched object with entreaties and threats, and call for help to good spirits and to natural objects.[1] Nature in general is regarded as hostile to harmful magic, and natural beings help one another against magical influences and harmful spirits and collaborate also with useful spirits. The same plants and animals which bring good luck to man can defend him against evil forces. Flowers and plants which while growing are helpful immediately to men and animals keep the witches away when cut and buried under the threshold, and when burned disclose the presence of a witch. In one of the tales the bluebell defends a woman against water spirits; the magpie when killed and hung above the stable hinders the bewitching of the horses, etc. It is easy to understand that magic appears as a disturber of the natural harmony, but the faith in nature, as long as it remains alive, permits man to hope that the community of natural beings has power enough to defend its members against this unnatural evil as well as against the natural evil—death. It is only when the faith in nature is partly lost that this hope is shaken and man appeals to supernatural powers—that is, to good magic—in order to defend himself against the harm brought by evil magical influences.

2. We have now to examine the second system of religious beliefs and attitudes, based upon the admission of a

[1] The concept of "spirits" is of course here borrowed from the second religious system, treated below, in which we find the properly magical action developed.

world of spirits within, beside or above natural objects. We point out that no historical connection can be established in the present state of historical knowledge between this system and the one just examined, and perhaps it will never be possible to establish it with certainty, since Christianity has destroyed as much as it could of the vestiges of the pagan past. Most of the spirits and magical practices of the present were introduced with the Christian religion, but in the pagan period a system of spirits coexisted with the naturalistic system. It is even possible that the two were more closely connected at that time than later and that Christianity had the effect of dissociating them. It brought a world of spirits in which the pagan spirits but not the pagan naturalism found a place. Two examples will illustrate this supposition. The lightning or thunderstroke (*piorun*) was at the same time a natural being (fire) and a divinity or the expression of a divinity; probably the two meanings were not quite distinguished. Its second character was assimilated to the Christian mythology, but not the first. We find, therefore, two contradictory beliefs. The lightning is the instrument of punishment in the hands of God or a weapon of the angels in their fight against the devils; a man struck by lightning must be a great sinner. But there is also a belief that a man struck by lightning is without sin and goes immediately to heaven, because fire in the naturalistic system is the purifactory instrument of regeneration.[1] Another example is the snake. The snake was a powerful natural being, and at the same time it was consecrated to a divinity. In the Christian system it became a symbol of the devil, but its first character was

[1] A mixture of both elements is found in another belief—that lightning is turned mainly against the souls of children who die without christening. There is present the idea of punishment and also of regeneration. The souls are persecuted for not being Christian, but at the same time the fire seems to be an equivalent of baptismal water.

left unheeded, and thus we find the curious contradiction that the snake is sometimes considered a benefactor and its killing is a crime, and sometimes again it is the incarnation of the evil spirit and should always be destroyed.

The existence of mythological beings is not in itself always sufficient to constitute a religious system different from naturalism, for these beings may be conceived as natural beings and included in the system of natural solidarity. Thus, when we find legends of giants and dwarfs who live more or less like men within nature, helped by, and helpful to, animals, plants, or men, and who, like all nature, fight against death and destruction; or when there are mythical home-, field-, and forest-beings who need human offerings of food and drink in order to live, and prove their gratitude by protecting the house and the crops, who avenge a breach of solidarity, and who run away if not cared for, we have nothing but an imaginary extension of the natural world, not a supernatural structure outside of this world. The attitudes which man shows toward these beings and which he ascribes to them are not different from those which characterize the whole natural community. And we can easily understand why such an extension of nature is necessary and what its rôle is. In any given stage of knowledge about nature extraordinary and unexpected phenomena cannot always be derived from the assumed properties of the known natural beings, and then two ways are opened. Man may either suppose that his knowledge is false, that the natural beings have other properties than those which he ascribed to them, or he can imagine that the inexplicable phenomena are caused by some beings which up to the present he had no opportunity of knowing. The second explanation requires, certainly, less intellectual effort and has been used in the history of human thought more frequently than the first. We do not know how far the mytho-

logical beings of the naturalistic religious system were spontaneously invented and how far brought from elsewhere; but their function in either case is clear: they have to account for the extraordinary and unexpected, to fill eventual gaps in the system. Their rôle is therefore limited; they are only one class of natural beings among others and share with others the peasant's religious attention at certain moments and in certain circumstances.

The new religious system is found only when behind all the natural events, ordinary as well as extraordinary, supernatural powers are supposed to reside and to act, where there is a dissociation between the visible, material thing and process on the one hand and the invisible, immaterial being and action on the other. No such dissociation is found in the naturalistic system. The things themselves have a conscious, spiritual principle indissolubly united with their outward material appearance, and the mystical, invisible influence of one natural being upon another imperceptibly mediates a visible material action. When these elements are dissociated, the invisible, immaterial principle is a *spirit* in the proper sense of the word, as opposed to the material objects and distinct from them, even if it should manifest itself, not only by acting upon these objects from outside, but by entering into an object or dwelling permanently in it. And the invisible, immaterial process of action of one thing upon another becomes *magical* as against the visible process of material action, even if it should be exerted, not only by a spirit upon a material object or reciprocally, but by one material object upon another.

There are many categories of spirits, differing by the nature of their relation to material objects. Some of them are scarcely more than naturalistic mythological beings; their spiritual nature manifests itself only indirectly by the

fact that man's attitude toward them is the same as toward other spirits and differs from that toward natural beings. Here belong, for example, water spirits, *boginki*, who have human bodies but can become invisible at will, who can be heard washing their linen at night or at midday, and who bear children. They often try to exchange their children for human ones, usually only so long as the latter are not yet baptized. Like real spirits they can assume the form of any woman, and it even happens that under the aspect of friends and relatives they entice a woman after childbirth from her home into the forests and marshes and mistreat her there, while one of them steals the child, puts her own in its place, and remains in the house in the form of the abducted woman. A changed child can be recognized from its bad temper, its growing ugliness, and its enormous appetite. The *boginka* who took the place of the real woman is also bad-tempered, capricious, and evil. In order to force the *boginka* to give the child back, a naturalistic means is often used. The *boginka's* child must be mistreated and beaten. Then the *boginka* brings the real child back and takes her own away, but she tries to avenge herself by biting off, for example, a finger of the real child, or by making it as bad-tempered as her own. With the exception of this means of getting the real child back (which shows that the *boginka* is still very much a mythological pagan being), the other means are mainly magical and the same as against the devil—the sign of the cross, Christian amulets, exorcisms. The priest can free the woman from the hands of the *boginka*, but he must wear all his ceremonial clothes turned wrong side out.

Another kind of beings, intermediary between mythological natural beings and spirits, are the *topczyki*—children born of illegal relations and drowned secretly without baptism. Except for the last point, in which the analogy

with real spirits of the dead is evident, the *topczyk* is a natural being. He has a body, which he may, indeed, sometimes change. He grows in water. His action is physical, not magical. He spoils the hay, draws by mere strength animals and men into the water, etc. Magical rites have no particular power against him. The best way is simply to avoid him. The naturalistic tendency in the representation of the *topczyki* is shown in a legend in which two of them are drawn by fishermen out of a pond. One was hunchbacked from having been shut up in a pot for seven years; the other was covered with hair like an animal. They were taken to a human house and christened, but they died soon after.

Skrzat, the house-being, and *leśny*, the wood-being, have lost the importance they had in pagan times. The first was beneficent, the second brought little harm except by making men lose their way. The last vestige of a field-being is probably preserved in the *południca*, midday-woman, who strangles anybody who sleeps at noon in the field, particularly upon the ridge between fields. Will-o'-the-wisps (compare below) are beings who live in marshes and meadows; they have little of a spiritual character, have very small bodies, warm themselves around a fire, etc. They viciously mislead drunken people, but do no other harm unless aroused by some tactless action. Religious magic is only partly efficient against them.

The belief in cloud-beings, *planetniki* or *latawce*, is very indeterminate and hesitant. Sometimes they are mythological natural beings dwelling in the clouds; sometimes spirits directing the clouds, bringing rain, hail, thunderstorm; sometimes spirits of children who died without baptism (often represented as persecuted by the clouds and lightnings); sometimes even living men and women, magicians or witches. The means of attracting or dispelling

clouds are sometimes based, therefore, upon natural solidarity—against lightning, the stork and swallow; against hail, plowing around the field with oxen, particularly twins, planting certain trees, etc.—and sometimes again magical, as we shall see presently.

Another being is the *kania*, which appears in the form of a beautiful woman and steals children, who are never seen any more. The *jędza* is a horrid old woman who eats children; the *wił*, a being who comes in the night, terrifies children, and hinders people from sleeping ("It stands always where you look"). The nightmare, *zmora*, has two meanings: it is sometimes a soul, as we shall see later, but sometimes also a distinct, half-spiritual being which strangles sleeping men and rides at night upon horses. All these beings have the same intermediary character between natural objects and spirits; they are more or less materialistically conceived, but they are acted upon mainly by magical means, not by appeals to natural solidarity.

The probable origin of their intermediary character can be traced. They were primitively nothing but natural beings, requiring some help from man and harmful only if this help was refused. But Christianity tried to assimilate them to the devil and to fight against them by magical means. Thus they assumed gradually the features of beings against which man had to fight, and which consequently were essentially harmful, and some of the spiritual character of the devil was transferred to them. We find facts, in the past and even in the present, proving that the peasant for a long time hesitated between the two attitudes. Officially he used the magic of the church against them, treated them as harmful, and tried to drive them away; but privately and secretly he kept the old duties of solidarity toward them, sought to excuse himself for using the church magic against them, and tried to win their help. Even if accept-

ing their help was as sinful in the eyes of the church as accepting the help of the devil and led to damnation, the peasant could hardly be moved to believe this. And he did not even believe in the complete efficiency of church magic against them. Up to the present magic remains only partly efficient, and it is easier to get rid of the devil than of these intermediary beings.

A particularly interesting gradation of beliefs is found with regard to the human soul. There are at least six varieties of beings corresponding to the concept of soul—the ordinary vampire, the man-nightmare, the Christian vampire-spirit, the specter, the soul doing penance on earth, the soul coming from purgatory, hell, or, occasionally, paradise. The relative degree to which these spirits are detached from the body and lead an independent existence is the reason for this diversity.

The ordinary vampire, mentioned in the preceding section, is scarcely a spirit at all. It is a living body, even if less alive than before death and devoid of some of the human ideas and feelings. It can be touched, even grappled with, and killed for the second time, after which it does not appear again. Sometimes it continues to occupy itself at night with farm- or housework, and the male vampire can even have sexual intercourse with his wife and bring forth children, but they are always weak and die soon—of course because the father has less life. The only spiritual characters of the vampire are relative independence of physical conditions (ability to pass through the smallest opening, to disappear and to appear suddenly, etc.), which was acquired only after death, and the possibility of being influenced to a certain extent by religious magic—sign of the cross, prayer, amulets—again a character not possessed by the man during his life. But the most effective means of getting rid of the vampire are the well-known natural actions—

cutting off the head, passing of an aspen pole through the heart, binding of the feet with particular plants, etc.

The human nightmare is already a soul, detaching itself from the living body during sleep and embracing, strangling, sucking the blood of men and animals or the sap of plants. During its absence the body lies as dead, and real death may follow if someone turns it, because then the soul cannot find the way back. The soul is of course half-material, since it exerts immediate material action, can be wounded (the scar is then seen upon the body), can be physically grasped. But it is also spiritual, because it can be detached from the body, assume various forms—animal, plant, even inanimate object—can pass where a material being could not pass, and finally because the really efficient means against it are magical (Christian amulets), not natural.

The Christian vampire is also a soul, of the same nature as the nightmare, but walking after the man's death, and thus still more dissociated from the body. It is not even referred to any particular body. We call it "Christian" because it originated from the primitive, bodily vampire under the evident influence of the Christian theory of the soul and of Christian rites. On the one hand, a christened soul must be detached from the body after death; the old bodily vampire theory is therefore not in accordance with the Christian system of beliefs. But, on the other hand, the christened soul cannot be a spirit-vampire, unless damned, and then it belongs to a different class of spirits. The contradiction was solved by a theory, to which the Catholic rites themselves gave birth, that there are two souls, one of which becomes Christian through baptism, the other through confirmation. The second soul of the unconfirmed lives on earth and becomes a vampire. According to a different legend, there was a time when vampires were frightfully numerous, and the people appealed to the pope

for help. The pope advised them to give two names at baptism, in order to christen also the second soul. Since that time the vampires have almost disappeared.

The specter is a very undetermined kind of spirit. It is always some soul, but seldom identified, and its aim is unknown. It is neither harmful nor useful. It appears in a visible form at night, walking near a cemetery or a church, sometimes in the church. It is thus not anti-Christian, not afraid of church magic. There is a story of a specter frightening men who planned a sacrilegious use of church objects. It is an intermediary being between the souls which are still partly connected with the system of nature and those which are already quite supernatural.

The souls doing penance upon earth belong to the latter group. Their origin seems purely Christian, as the idea of penance itself. Spirits of this class are very numerous. They manifest their existence mainly by noises, but sometimes they talk, sometimes they appear in any form. The bodies which they assume can often not be touched, even when, as sometimes happens, they enter into real bodies, human, animal, or plant. To this group belong unchristened people (some of them, as we have seen, still naturalistically conceived), those who died suddenly, without penitence, and those who have sinned only in some particular line. The penance which they do has a magical character; it is always analogous to the sin and has thus the aim of destroying the sinfulness. Children who died without baptism try to attract attention by various noises—cracking in the fire, rapping on the furniture and walls, moaning in the wind, etc.—in order to be baptized; the man who hears them should throw some water and baptize them, giving them always two names, Adam and Eve, for the sex of the dead is unknown. Not only unbaptized children, but also men who were wrongly baptized, wander

after their death. For instance, there are in one locality many graves of Russians killed in a battle against the Poles in the eighteenth century, and their souls find no rest anywhere, for they were christened according to the rites of the Greek church. They cannot be helped, and must await the last judgment. Those who died a sudden death always haunt the place where they died. They want to confess their sins, and it happens sometimes that they succeed and are saved, if only they find a courageous priest to absolve them. Any sudden death has something uncanny for the peasant and is supposed to be sent, not by God, but by the devil—whether with God's permission or not is not always clear. Finally, people whose sin was not, as in the previous cases, a lack of religious purification, but some particular evil deeds, often try in vain to undo the harm which they wrought. Thus a man who was a miser during his life, wronged the poor, or refused gifts to the church, and particularly one who buried or in any way hid his money, hovers about his collected wealth, wants to show the living where it is or to compel his heir to divide it with the poor and the church; but the devil usually hinders the living from understanding or fulfilling his bidding. The soul of a surveyor who measured falsely during his life wanders in the form of a will-o'-the-wisp, looks over his wrong measurements, and wishes in vain to correct them. The soul of a woman who did not respect the food and threw the remnants into the pail with the dishwater is heard at night dabbling in the pail in search of remnants in order to still her hunger. A man who once slapped his father wanders at night, in human but indistinct form, and compels his own living son to give him a blow. Two *kums* who quarreled during their life cannot find rest until somebody brings them together and reconciles them. A man who hunted on Sunday during the mass wanders after his death and hinders people from

hunting. Another who swore by the devil and never said his prayer on *Angelus* shows himself at noon in the form of a dog which devils, in the form of crows, chase about. And so on.

These souls still dwell in their old world, though they are spirits, completely detached from material bodies, which they assume only in order to carry out their particular end, and absolutely dependent on magic, not at all on natural actions.

The last class of souls, while always more or less interested in their old environment, dwell elsewhere—in purgatory, hell, or paradise, as distinguished from heaven. Those places are sometimes thought to be beyond, sometimes upon, the earth, in remote localities. In one myth they are beyond Rome, and from one of the Roman churches the funnels of hell can be seen. The souls come occasionally to their old residence, to warn or to help the living, to ask them for prayers or good deeds; those from purgatory come every year on All Souls' Day, and listen to a mass which the soul of some dead priest celebrates. From paradise they come relatively seldom and only on some altruistic mission. Whenever a soul manifests in some way its appearance (this concerns also, to some extent, the previous category of souls), it should be addressed with the words: "Every spirit praises God." If it answers: "I praise him also," the living person should ask: "What do you want, soul?" Whatever it begs for, prayer or good deed in its favor, ought to be granted. But if the soul answers nothing to the first greeting, the living person should make the sign of the cross and say, "Here is the cross of God; fly away, contrary sides." For it is a damned soul and can no longer be saved.

The devil is not regarded as a unique character. First, of course, there are many devils, though only a few of them have distinct names. The devil is not an essentially evil

being, although often malicious, harmful, or disgusting. The proverb: "The devil is not so terrible as he is painted," is very popular, as well as the other: "Who lives near hell, asks the devil to be his *kum*." In dealing with men the devil is often cheated, not only because he is not particularly clever, but also because he usually shows more honesty in keeping agreement than men show. Often the term "devil" is simply substituted for some other mythological being whose old character and name are forgotten. With regard to the devils we therefore find also a gradation of spirituality. But all the devils are more spiritual, more detached from the natural world, than the mythological beings of the first category and than most of the souls, so that the substitution of the devil for the *boginka*, the nightmare, the vampire, etc., means an evolution from the naturalistic toward the spiritualistic religious system.

The least spiritual are the local devils, who are more or less attached to particular places—ruins, marshes, old trees, crossroads, etc. They are usually invisible, but can show themselves at will either in the form of animals (usually owls, cats, bats, reptiles, but also black dogs, rams, horses, etc.) or in a human or half-human body. Although popular imagination has naturally been influenced by the traditional mediaeval pictures of the devil and orthodoxly conceives them as representing the devil in his real form, still it has constructed for itself representations more adequate to the popular sense. The devil is represented as a little man in "German clothes" (fashion of the second half of the eighteenth century) with a small "goat's beard," small horns hidden under his hat; sometimes he has a tail and one horse- or goat-leg, as in the paintings. The local devil has nothing to do with the questions of temptation and salvation; he does not try to get any souls, but is a mischievous being who frightens the living and gets them into trouble,

often merely in the way of a joke. Sometimes he has indeed a serious function to perform, for example, watching buried treasures, lest the living should get them; there is a real danger of life in searching for treasures, or for the fern flower which opens the eyes of the possessor and enables him to see the treasures under the earth. It is believed that these devils purify the treasures once a year with fire, and do it as long as the soul of the man who buried them does penance; after this, the devil ceases to watch the treasure and it can be found by the living. In this tale the local devil is already associated with the purgatory devil.

The second class of devils are those who possess the living beings, men or animals. Possession is quite different from the assumption of a visible form. In the latter case we have to do with an apparition, but in the first with a natural thing in which the devil, himself invisible, dwells. The natural thing can be explicitly thought to have a soul besides the devil, or the matter of the soul may be left out of consideration. The devils who take possession of a person may be many—three, five, seven. Not all of them are harmful; some are good and useful to the possessed person as well as to others. And if we note that sometimes a wise woman is identified with a possessed one, we must conclude that the idea of possession, originating in the Christian mythology, was simply applied at a later time to phenomena which had a different meaning under the system of naturalism.

The third kind of devils are those who, while leading an independent existence outside of the natural world, are still mainly interested in matters of this world. According to the orthodox tradition their only aim ought to be tempting men in order to get them damned, but the peasant sometimes makes them play also the part of spirits with whom simple co-operation on the basis of reciprocity is possible, without

involving damnation. They have supernatural powers, but they lack natural achievements, and this makes a co-operation fruitful for both sides. Thus, a devil may become the apprentice of a blacksmith or a miller and learn the trade while teaching his master supernatural tricks. In connection with the witches, the devil wants to learn what is going on in the human community (for he is not all-knowing) while he bestows some of his own magical powers upon the witch. Or he gives the witch the means of getting an exceptional quantity of milk, while she must bring him, for his unknown purposes, butter and cheese. Or he sows the field in company with a man, for he does not know agriculture, but he can make the crops grow better, or he gives the man some money out of a hidden treasury. This is the type of devil with whom witches have sexual relations or who receives his friends at a weekly (sometimes monthy or yearly) banquet on the top of the Łysa Góra.[1] Of course the motive of damnation is very popular and important, but its moral value is sometimes doubtful. The devil, according to an explicit or tacit agreement, takes the soul of a man as his own reward for some service, in the same way as in relations among men a poor peasant may become a servant of his rich neighbor for a certain time to pay a debt which he cannot pay in another way; there is often scarcely any idea of moral punishment. A man may even promise his child to the devil before the child is born. And it is here that the devil is most often cheated, for at the last moment the man frequently gets rid of him by magical means. The idea of temptation, in this system of beliefs, does not mean "temptation to commit a sin," but temptation to do business. And if the sin as such leads to hell, it is because of its magical influence, of the break of the magical

[1] "Bald Mountain," proper name applied now mainly to a mountain in the province of Kielce, but used also in other provinces in relation to local hills.

solidarity with the heavenly powers and the establishment of a magical solidarity with the devil. The only sins to which the devil really instigates his followers are those which have immediately this magical consequence—sacrilege, denial of the heavenly powers, recognition of the devil, and rites whose effect is to establish a magical affinity with him. On the other hand, we find also attitudes which prevail in the naturalistic system transferred to the spiritualistic one; the devil often appears on earth as well as in hell as an avenger of breaks of solidarity between men, or even between men and nature. He performs vicariously the functions which human society or nature are for some reasons unable to perform.

The last class of devils are those who dwell permanently in hell and have almost no relation with nature or living men, except sometimes taking souls from the earth to hell. They torture the souls and endure punishment themselves for their revolt against God.

The category of heavenly beings—God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the angels—are completely spiritualized. Any connection between them and actually existing natural beings, if it ever existed, has been forgotten. For example, heaven is identical with the skies and is God's dwelling-place, the thunder and lightning are manifestations of God's activity, etc., but there is not the slightest trace of any identity of God with those natural phenomena.

Naturally the theological problem of the Trinity seldom attracts the peasant's attention. The Holy Spirit has little importance, and is individualized only through the liturgical and popular prayers addressed to him and through his symbolization by the dove. God and Jesus are certainly, in this system, dissociated beings, owing to the earthly life of Jesus. The names are often mixed, but the functions

are sufficiently distinguished to allow us to consider God and Jesus as separate divinities in the eyes of the peasant.

God's main attribute is magical power over things. This power is not limited by the nature of the things themselves, and in this sense God may be called all-powerful; but it is limited by the magical power of the devil and even of man, although it is certainly greater. It may be used at any moment and with regard to any object, but it is not so used in fact; many phenomena go on without any divine influence. God directs the world when he wishes, but does not support it. The idea of creation is rather undetermined and does not play an important part in the peasant's mythology; it is usually assimilated to workmanship.

The divine power can be used for beneficent or harmful purposes without regard to properly moral reasons. It is qualitatively but not morally antagonistic to the devil's power. There is, of course, a certain principle in the harmful or beneficent activity of God; an explanation can be given of every manifestation of God's benevolence or malevolence. But this explanation has a magical, not a moral, character, even if it is expressed in religious and moral terms. God's attitude toward man (and toward nature as well) depends upon the magical relation which man by his acts establishes between God and himself. If the magical side of human activity or of natural things harmonizes with the tendencies of divine activity, the latter is necessarily beneficent, and it is necessarily harmful in the contrary case, that is, whenever the acts of things are in harmony with the intentions of the devil. The main sins, therefore, are those against religious rites—that is, all kinds of sacrilege—and every other sin is termed as "offense of God," that is, assimilated to sacrilege. Therefore also magical church rites can destroy every sin, and it is enough to establish a relation of magical harmony with God in order to keep one's self and one's

property safe from any incidental harm. But from this it results also that the consequences of the sin reach much farther than they should if the idea of just retribution were dominant; the magical estrangement from God extends itself over the whole future situation of the man and thus leads to eternal damnation if not made good by some contrary act, and it may also extend itself over the man's milieu and bring calamities to his family, community, farm-stock, and even to his purely natural environment.

Jesus, in this religious system, has the somewhat subordinated position of a magical mediator between the divine power and man. He is the founder and keeper of the magical rites by which man is put into a relation of harmony with God or defended against the devil. Accordingly it is Jesus who judges men's actions and personalities as harmonizing or not with God, and upon whom the lot of the soul after death mainly depends. He is somewhat more personalized than God, but he is also not a moral divinity; in his eyes the magical, not the moral, value of the act is always important.

The Virgin Mary is more particularly a beneficent divinity, helping always and everybody by the way of miracles. In fact, she is the only divinity working miracles even now. For, although the whole activity of God and Jesus is supernatural, it does not break the normal order of things, because this normal order includes material as well as magical phenomena, or, more exactly, there are two coexisting orders, the material and the magical. The real miracle is therefore one that breaks both orders. Healing a sick person is only a magical action when sickness is a result of natural causes or of some spontaneous action of the devil or the witch, but it is a miracle when the sickness is a necessary consequence of sin, of a dissolution of the magical harmony between man and God. This is precisely the kind of miracles, besides

simple magical actions, ascribed commonly to the Virgin Mary. She disturbs in favor of men the divine magical order itself; she saves men from the consequences of their sins in this world and even in the other.

The saints have a more limited sphere of activity. Every saint has a special line along which he acts, usually beneficently, by modifying, through a supernatural influence, natural phenomena. Some saints, as, for instance, St. Franciscus, give also magical help against the devil, but this is less frequent than help in natural difficulties. Thus, St. Anthony helps to find a lost article, St. Agatha to extinguish a fire, etc. Every man's patron saint saves him in danger. Every parish has a patron saint who averts calamities from it; the day of this saint is a parish festival. There are patron saints of corporations, fraternities, cities, provinces. St. Stanislaus is the patron of Poland; St. Casimir, of Lithuania.

The functions of the angels are rather undetermined. They have to fight against the devils, to praise God, to take human souls to paradise from the earth or from purgatory, to fulfil, according to their original meaning, errands of God. The guardian angel of every man watches over him, to keep him from natural and magical dangers, and defends his soul against the devil immediately after death.

If we omit now all the intermediary stages between natural beings and spirits, and take the spiritual world in its pure form as distinguished from the material world, we notice that there are two antagonistic spiritual communities —divine and devilish. To the first belong also once and forever the souls of the saved, to the second the souls of the damned. Souls in purgatory are on the way between the two. These communities are connected, each separately, by a particular kind of solidarity which we can call magical, and they are opposed to each other also by a magical con-

trariety. The living men belong partly to one, partly to the other community, and they pass from one to another according to the magical bearing of their acts. All other natural beings, animated or not, can also acquire a divine or a devilish magical character, but they are without exception passive, objects, not subjects, of magical activity, although a spirit can enter into them and act through them. In this respect their rôle differs completely from the active one which they play in the naturalistic system.

In order to understand this spiritual solidarity, we must analyze more closely the magical attitude, for this does not originate in the belief in spirits, but both have a common root from which they grow simultaneously.

The common feature of the physical and the magical fact is that in both there is an action of one object upon another. Without this external influence the object is supposed not to change; and if change is already included in its nature, its formula remains the same.[1] Thus, when a body at rest is suddenly set in motion, physics and magic alike will explain it by the action of external forces. Even if it is an animated being, the movement will be explained either psychologically, by a motive which is ultimately referred to the external world, or physiologically, by an irritation of physiological elements whose ultimate source is also in the external world or by a magical influence. The system of magical interpretation is less complete and more immediately practical. It is applied to phenomena whose practical importance is perceived at once, consequently to those which, being to a certain extent more than ordinary, require some change in the habitual course of life. For example, puberty, sickness, and death require a magical explanation more insistently than the ordinary physiological functions,

[1] Magic applies this principle even more rigidly than physical science, for it seldom includes change in the definition of the object.

sexual life more insistently than eating, eating more insistently than breathing. The phenomenon of snow is hardly explained magically by the Polish peasant, while hail and thunderstorm are very frequently referred to magical activities.

But this is only a difference of degree between the magical and the physical systems. The difference of nature lies elsewhere. Magical action differs essentially from physical action in that the process by which one object influences another is given and can be analyzed in physical action, while in magical action it is not given and avoids analysis. There is a continuity between physical cause and physical effect; there is an immediate passage, without intermediary stages, between magical cause and magical effect. Thus, when a woman comes by night to her neighbor's stable and milks the cow; when a man in a fight strikes another a blow; when wind drives hail-clouds away; when crops rot in the field because of too much rain—in all these cases the process of action of one thing upon another is known, or supposedly known, the cause and effect are connected with each other without any break of continuity, and we can analyze the process into as many stages as we wish. But when a witch, by milking a stick in her own house, draws the milk of her neighbor's cow into her own milk-pot; when by saying some formulae and burning some plants she causes headache to her distant enemy; when the first chapters of the Four Gospels, written down and buried at the four corners of a field, avert hail-clouds; when peas, sown during the new moon, never ripen, but blossom again every month until winter—here between the cause and effect continuity is broken, the influence is immediate, we do not know anything about the process of action and we cannot analyze the passage between the state of one object and the state of another. Therefore we can, of course, *modify* in many ways

a physical process, *direct* it by introducing various additional causes; but we can only *abolish* the magical influence, *destroy* it, by introducing some determined contrary factors.

This character of the magical relation explains the fact that most of those relations are, or rather appear to us to be, symbolical. This symbolism can assume different forms. Sometimes it is analogy between the supposed cause and the desired effect, as in the example of the witch milking a stick, or in the very general case when two bones of the bat, resembling respectively a rake and a fork, are used, the first to attract something desirable, the second to push away something undesirable. Sometimes, again, it is a part representing the whole, as when some hairs or finger-nail parings of a man are used to harm or to heal through them the whole body, or when a rite performed upon a few grains taken from a field is supposed to affect the whole crop. Or an action performed upon some object is presumed to exert an influence upon another object which is or was in spatial proximity with the first, as when an object taken from the house or some sand from under the threshold is used to influence magically the house or its inmates. Succession in time, particularly if repeated, becomes often a basis of a magical connection; this is the source of many beliefs in lucky or unlucky phenomena. The connection between the word and the thing symbolized by it is, as we know, particularly often exploited for magical purposes. The words exert an immediate influence upon reality, have a magical creative power. The relation of property is also assumed to be a vehicle of magical action; the owner is hit by magic exerted upon some object which belongs to him, and, reciprocally, by bewitching the owner it is possible to affect his property. Things often connected by some natural causality can be easily connected by a magical causality; food can be spoiled by bewitching the fire upon which it is

cooked, the miller can arouse the wind by imitating its effect, that is, by turning the wings of the mill. The last example gives us a combination of two kinds of symbolism: by analogy and by the relation of (natural) cause to effect. Such combinations are very frequent in the more complicated kinds of magic, as when a witch, by sitting upon goose eggs, brings hail as big as those eggs, or when a consecrated host is put into a beehive in order to make the bees prosper. This last is a triple magical relation: the words of the priest change the host into the flesh of Jesus; the particle represents the whole divinity; the supposed effect of religious perfection which the host exerts upon the soul of the man is transferred by analogy to the insects.

Now in all these cases magical relation is supposed to exist among objects which are in some way already connected in human consciousness, so that one of them points in some way to the other, reminds one of it, symbolizes it. And we can easily understand that this is a necessary condition, without which it would be hardly possible to imagine the existence of a magical relation between two given objects. Indeed in physical causality we can follow the process of causation, and therefore (except in cases of error of observation or reasoning) we know what effect a cause has or what is the cause of a given effect. But in magical causality the process is hidden, and there would therefore be no reason to think of a given fact A as being the cause or effect of a determined fact B rather than of any of the innumerable other facts which happen about this time if A and B had not been connected previously in the mind. Sometimes the facts are connected traditionally and the reason for this connection can no longer be determined, but whenever we see the reason it is always a symbolical relation of some of the types enumerated above.

If, now, the magical causality existed alone, it would probably be considered natural, not supernatural. But it coexists, in the peasant's experience, with a multitude of cases of purely physical causality, including most of the common material phenomena, and it becomes supernatural by antithesis to these, exactly as spirits become supernatural by antithesis to material beings.[1] And certainly the fact that most of the magic came to the peasant with Christianity and was already connected with spirits must have helped to develop this opposition between natural and supernatural causality.

But the connection of magic with the spiritual beings is not merely the result of their common opposition to the material world. Magic contains in itself elements which, at a certain stage, make this connection necessary. Indeed, magical causality is by no means an instrument of theoretical explanation but of practice; only such relations as are supposed to help to attain a desirable end or to avoid a danger are taken into consideration. Every magical relation is therefore connected in some way more or less closely with the idea of the conscious intention of somebody who acts, who wants to apply it to a certain end. In many cases, even in a relatively primitive magic, intention is a necessary condition of causality. The witch who milks a stick must think at the same time of the woman whose cow she wants to deprive of milk, and it is her intention which directs the magical effect. It is also indispensable in all endeavors to convey sickness to direct the attention to the person whom one desires to harm. In searching for a hidden treasure harmful magical powers are neutralized if the digger has at this moment the intention (provisionally

[1] The antithesis is particularly evident when the same object exerts a natural and a magical effect. Thus, water naturally washes physical stains, but consecrated water magically purifies an object from the devilish magical power.

assumed) of giving the treasure to a church. And we know that in religious magic the use of consecrated objects can have its whole influence only if exerted with a determined intention and belief in its efficiency. There are certainly many cases in which the effect of a magical cause is presumed to come mechanically, when the intention is not necessary to produce it. This happens when an object, amulet or talisman, has a permanent property of magical action, or when a magical effect is brought about inadvertently. But usually we find some intentional action in the beginning. Most of the amulets and talismans (when their action does not result from their own natural power, that is, when they are not members of the first, naturalistic, religious system) have been at some moment intentionally endowed with magical powers; such are all the consecrated objects and many of those which the magicians and witches prepare. Most of the inadvertent actions have a magical influence because they are actions of conscious beings who, even if they have no explicit intention at the given moment, have a latent power of will, are capable of intentional influence. By the usual association the inadvertent action is supposed to exert the same influence as the intentional action which it resembles, because the spiritual power, nondirected, takes the habitual channel. And even when there is no conscious action in the beginning, the peasant tends to suppose, more or less definitely, some kind of intention in every case of imprevisible good or bad luck which happens to him. In short, in every magical causation there is *more or less* of the conscious element completing the mechanical magical relation between cause and effect; there is always behind it somebody, man or spirit, and the object through which the action is exerted is here merely an instrument, not a spontaneously acting being, as in the naturalistic system.

But there is a curious gradation of the part which consciousness plays in magical causality, which is also the basis of distinction between human and spiritual magic. In the ordinary ritualistic magic the intention is only one component of the magical action, more or less necessary, but subordinated to the objective causal relation between visible phenomena—the more so, the more complicated the rite. Its rôle is increased in the action by words, particularly when the words are not traditional formulae (to a great extent efficient by their mere sound and arrangement), but spontaneous expressions of an actual feeling or desire. The blessing or curse is efficient whatever its form, which proves that it is the intention, not the expression, which is essential. In the evil eye sometimes the visible act counts more, sometimes the intention. In any case there is a marked disproportion between the physical act, trifling in itself, and its consequences. Evidently the "evil eye" has a magical influence only because it is a conscious being which looks, because in the eye spiritual powers are concentrated. But man can never exert a magical influence by consciousness alone, without the help of visible means. This is the privilege of the spirits who, when completely detached from nature, can act immediately by the magic of their will. Those who are intermediary between spirits and natural beings may sometimes need the help of visible rites. The devil who keeps hidden treasures cleans them with fire; local spirits and some of the lower devils can get a man into their power by holding any part of his body or his clothing, etc. But the more spiritualized and powerful devils and the heavenly spirits do not need anything for their magical action. And of course the whole practical importance of supernatural beings depends upon their ability to exert a direct magical influence by their mere will. If they were unable to do this, they would not count at all, for, being

detached from nature, they cannot act through material objects. In other words, the dissociation of mythological beings from the material world is possible only on the condition that those beings can influence this world by the magic of their will, and thus the magic of consciousness is the condition of the existence of spirits. For spirits without practical influence cannot exist in the popular mythology; their power is the measure of their reality.

This magical power, which, among the spirits, God possesses in the highest degree and of which the spirits in general have more than men, is nothing but the *faculty* of producing magical effects. It is quite parallel with the "energy" of physics. The spirits and certain living men possess it from the beginning. Its manifestations can be directed and often checked at will. This is the case among higher beings, but among men it happens that the magical power tends to manifest itself even in opposition to the present conscious act of will. The case is exactly analogous to that of an "inborn" tendency to evil; the permanent direction of the will is stronger than an actual motive; the individual's nature is so bent upon exercising magical influence upon all objects which come within his sphere of action that he can only with difficulty refrain from exercising it upon some particular object. Thus, many persons who have the evil eye do harm even when they do not wish it and must use particular means in order to neutralize their power, for example, look upon their own nails before looking upon any object which may be harmed. Of the witches, in many localities the opinion prevails that they are more unhappy than guilty, that their magical power is either inherited or communicated to them by a curse of God (a curse, since their power is contrary to the divine power), and cases are even quoted in which a witch, unable or unwilling to harm her neighbors, exerted her influence aimlessly upon inani-

mate objects, or even bewitched herself. But a person whose magic is of a higher quality, as, for example, a priest or a wise person who uses magical power only for good purposes, can use it or not, at will.

This magical power can be communicated to men or things, and we can suppose that, as magical causation involves some degree of intention, all the magical powers of things are communicated to them by men or spirits, as they are in the Christian system. There is always some kind of consecration, actually performed or presupposed, explicitly or implicitly. Obviously we do not mean to say that the idea of consecration was in fact the historical origin of the magical powers ascribed to things, but only that in the magical system of the Polish peasant the magical power of things is *actually believed* to have originated always in some kind of a consecration. For example, there are innumerable legends in which the beneficent or maleficent magical powers of animals, plants, or stones are ascribed to a blessing or curse of God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the saints. If some animals are connected with the devil, it is not only because the devil used to appear in their form, but also because he is supposed to have endowed them with magical power; such are the snake, the cat, the owl, the peacock, the rat, black dogs, black goats, etc. In the same way it is the devil who communicates magical properties to the localities in which he resides, to many instruments which the witches use, to money, etc., and all the witches who are not born such are consecrated by the devil, or sometimes by other more powerful witches. The consecration is, moreover, the more efficient the more powerful the consecrating man or spirit. The power of Christian amulets depends upon the position in the church hierarchy of the priest who consecrated them (ordinary priest, bishop, pope); the consecration of the witch by the devil is worth more than by another witch.

The curse of a saint is more influential than that of an ordinary person. Thus, nobody in or from the town Gniezno can ever make a fortune since St. Adalbert cursed the town more than nine centuries ago. Numerous are the legends of towns, churches, castles which sank into the earth, of men turned into stone when cursed by priests, hermits, etc.

But the magical power of spiritual beings when acting upon material objects must adapt itself to the immanent laws of magical causality in the same way as human technique must adapt itself to the laws of physical causality. The idea of consecration is used to explain magical powers of objects only within the limits of the symbolism of which we have spoken above. Thus, not every object can be consecrated to every use, but each one by consecration acquires only a particular and determined power of action. For example, in Loreto consecrated bells are particularly adapted to avert thunderstorm, salt consecrated on the day of St. Agatha extinguishes fire, determined plants, when consecrated, acquire a magical power against determined diseases, etc. Nowhere perhaps is this adaptation of spirits to the immanent laws of magical causality so evident as in the use of water. As we have said above, because water washes away material dirt, consecrated water, by an evident symbolism, purifies magically, that is, destroys the stamp which the devil put upon the objects, consecrating them to his own use. Hence water becomes the universal and dominant purificatory medium, as against fire in the naturalistic system.[1] Another good example of adaptation of the spirits to the laws of magic is found in the curse. The father's or mother's curse is particularly powerful because of the relation between parents and children; God *must* fulfil it. A priest has communicated to us that an old

[1] The use of fire in hell and, secondarily, in purgatory has a completely different meaning; in hell, fire tortures without purifying.

peasant confessed the cursing of his son as the most heinous sin of his whole life. The son went to the army and was killed, and in his confession the peasant said: "Why did I interfere with the business of God?" He felt that God was *obliged* to see to it that the son was killed.

We have already met more than once the problem of magical dualism. The belief in magical causation leads necessarily to the standpoint of a duality of contrary influences. Indeed, whenever a magical action does not bring the intended result, the agent can only either deny the efficacy of the means used or suppose that the influence of the magical cause was neutralized by a contrary influence, the causation destroyed by an opposite causation. In physical explanation a process of causation cannot be destroyed, but only combined with another process, because we can follow both in their development and their combination; but in magical explanation, as we have seen, the process of causation is not given, and when the effect does not come the causal relation must be assumed to be annihilated.

Of course this opposition of contrary magical influences does not involve any absolute appreciation. From the standpoint of the subject who desires to attain a certain effect a magical influence favorable to this aim will be valued positively, an influence which destroys the first, negatively. But the appreciation changes with the change of the standpoint, and no magic can be termed good or evil in itself. There are, indeed, actions which bring harm and actions which bring benefit to other individuals or to the community as a whole, but in order to make this a basis of classification of magical actions the moral viewpoint must be introduced into magic and religion, and this is done only in the third religious system, which we shall analyze presently. Before this moralization of religion, actions performed with the help of magic can be useful or harmful, the person who

performs them can be virtuous or wicked, but the magical power is neither good nor bad in itself. This is particularly evident if we remember that the same magical influence can be, according to circumstances, useful or harmful to the community or to the individual. The bringing or stopping of rain is a good example. Even directly harmful influences, such as those which bring sickness or death upon a man, can sometimes be useful to the community, when the harm is a punishment for a breach of solidarity. And if this is true of actions which have a determined result, it is the more true of magical powers which spirits, men, or things may possess, for these powers can be used for very different actions.

We understand, therefore, that not even Christianity, in spite of its absolute opposition of God and devil, heaven and hell, was able to introduce at once the idea that there is a good magic and an evil magic, and that the magic of heavenly beings and of priests was good, all other magic evil. We do not raise here the question how consistently this idea was developed in Christianity itself. The peasant, standing on practical, empirical ground, could frequently not avoid the conclusion that the effects of divine magic can be disastrous as well as beneficial, and that the devilish magic does not bring harm always, but may often be very useful. The ideas of reward and punishment in future life were hardly ever strong enough with the peasant to influence his choice in a decisive way, the less so as it was always possible to cheat God during life and the devil at the moment of death by accepting any good which might come from both sources as long as it was possible and by turning to God when nothing good could any longer be expected from the devil. This is the attitude which persists in most of the tales and in real life, in spite of some incidental, evidently imitated and formal, moralization. If God were alone against the devil, the influence of religion upon peasant life would be very

equivocal. But the factor which, in spite of all this, makes the religious magical system so powerful as to direct the peasant's attitudes in all the important events of his life is the above-mentioned magical solidarity of all the divine beings, on the one hand, and all the devilish beings, on the other. This solidarity consists, not in an essential opposition between the two magics as such, but in the fact that the magical action of any divine being always supports and corroborates the magical action of all the other divine beings and is always opposed to the magical action of any devilish being; the same is true of the devilish community. On this basis, when a man acts in harmony with the divine community he is assured of the protection of this whole community, because he becomes its member, while by a single action supporting the tendencies of the devilish community, he becomes indeed a member of the latter, but makes all the divine beings his enemies.

The choice between these communities will depend upon three factors: First, the number and the concreteness of the divinities belonging to them respectively. In this regard the devilish community had a decided superiority in the beginning, when the church itself put all the pagan mythological beings, numerous and concrete, into the same class with the devils; the influence of this rich and plastic world must have been, and was indeed for a long time, stronger than that of the poorer and relatively pale community of heavenly beings. This, more than anything else, accounts for the long persistence of the devilish mythology and rites. But gradually the heavenly pantheon increased in number and concreteness; many local saints were added to it, legends grew up about them, their graves preserved a magical power, churches consecrated to them perpetuated their memory and made them familiar and plastic divinities. With the development of reading, lives of the saints became

a favorite topic; and before this their lives were related by priests, amulet-peddlers, pilgrims, etc. In this way many foreign saints became known and worshiped. The Virgin Mary, whose cult came down from the higher classes to the peasant, became through the many churches, miracles, and legends one of the most powerful divinities. Particular legends connected God, Jesus, Mary, the saints, and the angels with the familiar environment of the peasant, and most of them were adapted to Polish life and nature and bear thus a distinctly local character. Finally, art in all its forms—painting, sculpture, music, architecture, poetry—contributed in an incalculable measure to make all the beings of the heavenly pantheon concrete and alive. Of course the hell-pantheon grew also, but its growth was less extensive and was decreased by a loss in number and concreteness of the pagan mythological beings.

The second reason for choosing the divine rather than the devilish community is that of their relative power. In this respect the church has also done very much to increase the power of the heavenly world as against hell, even if the latter is not too much minimized, in view of other considerations of which we shall speak presently. We notice, for example, that the pagan mythological beings assimilated to the devil have a rather limited sphere of activity. The most important natural phenomena—sunshine and thunder, summer and winter, birth and death, extraordinary cataclysms and extraordinarily good crops, war and peace, etc.—are as far as possible ascribed to God. We have already spoken of the power of Mary as manifested in her miracles, and of the patron saints to whom most of the more usual phenomena of social and individual life are subordinated. Jesus, whose main function is to attract men to the divine community, to defend them against the devil—and to give them up to him if they are stubborn—is always shown as a

more powerful magician than the devil. The angels are always depicted as victorious against the devils in direct struggle. Finally, the decision of the lot of the human soul after death belongs mainly to the heavenly community, because Jesus, if he wishes, can always take the soul away from the devil on the basis of a single good deed, and after paying its due to the devil in purgatory the soul can reach paradise, while the devil cannot take a saved soul into hell.

But another tendency of the church in the same line did not succeed quite so well. The objects to which divine magical powers were communicated by consecration and which were to help man to attain influence over the spirits and over nature ought to belong also exclusively to the divine order, ought to bear such a magical character as would make them by themselves useful only to the members of the divine community and harmful to the devil. Here belong, for example, the localities and instruments of divine service, amulets, holy water, consecrated wafers, etc. But this idea implies the distinction between good and evil magical powers, and therefore the endeavor of the church failed. The use of objects consecrated by the church could be made in the favor of the devilish as well as of the divine community, according to the intention of the person who used them. Sometimes it was necessary, indeed, to use them in a perverse way in order to attain results favorable to the devilish community, especially in cases where the long use for divine ends had evidently imparted to these objects a certain incompatibility with the world of the devil. We find this attitude in such facts as the saying of prayers backward, crossing with the left hand and in the contrary direction, etc. But very often consecrated objects can be used at once for devilish purposes. Every witch or magician tries to get hosts, church candles, consecrated earth, water, oil, or salt, fringes from church banners, etc., for

magical purposes; sometimes even the devil asks them to get such objects. A candle put before the altar with certain rites and a determined intention had the same magical effect as a waxen image of the person whom the witch wanted to kill; the person was consumed with sickness and died while the candle was gradually burned away during divine service. A piece of clothing put upon the organ caused insufferable pains to the person to whom it belonged, whenever the organ was played. The churches, cemeteries, crosses, and chapels erected upon the roads or in the fields are places near which devilish forces are supposed to reside; one of the means of calling the devil is to walk, with ceremonies, nine times around a cross or chapel.

But of course the fact itself that the church was in actual possession of so many objects endowed with magical power increased enormously, not only its influence, but the influence of the divine community of which it was a part and which it represented. The political supremacy of the church made it impossible for the devilish community to have as many magical things at its service. One of the meanings of sacrilege, which all the witches and magicians feel morally obliged to perform whenever they can, is to destroy the magical power of consecrated objects and to weaken in this way the church and the divine community.

In trying thus to increase the divine powers at the expense of the devil the church went still farther and tried to introduce the idea that whatever the devil does he does only by God's permission, that God leaves to him voluntarily a certain sphere of activity. But this idea seems to have been assimilated by the peasant rather late and only in connection with the religious system which we next treat, for the church itself apparently contradicted it by making all possible efforts to ascribe useful phenomena to the effects of divine magic, all harmful phenomena to the devil. This

last distinction, the beneficent character of the divine as against the maleficent character of the devilish community, became the third great factor helping to the victory of the divine community in the consciousness of the peasant. But to the unsophisticated peasant mind it seems evident that the devil must have some power of his own in order to do as much harm as the church tries to lay upon him if God is to be conceived as an essentially beneficent being. The omnipotence of God had to be sacrificed to save his goodness, though the latter was as yet only practical, not moral, goodness. And, even so, it was impossible to establish at once on the magical ground an absolute opposition between God as source of *all* good and the devil as source of *all* evil; the contrast could be only relative. As we have seen, harm and benefit brought by magical actions are relative to the subject and to the circumstances. The first and indispensable limitation of the principle was necessitated by the duality of the religious world itself; only those who belonged to the divine community could be favored by the good effects of divine magic, or else there would be no particular reason for belonging to this community. But in that case the good which "the servants of the devil" experienced must have come from the devil, not from God. And some of the evil which befell the members of the divine community must have come from God, or else, if it came only from the devil, many men would be moved rather by the fear of the devil's vengeance than by the attraction of the divine gifts. All this was admitted, but the Christian teaching succeeded in partly overcoming the difficulty with the help of the contention that the good which the devil offered to his believers was not a real good and the evil which God sent down upon his servants was not a real evil. The good given by the devil turned ultimately to evil, sometimes only in the next world but often even in the

present one. And the evil sent by God, if man did not lose his faith and did not turn to the devil, was sooner or later rewarded by a greater good. In short, the heavenly community proved true with regard to its human members, while in the hell community they were cheated. An interesting expression of this belief is found in many tales. In these it is the theatrical contrast between appearance and reality which suddenly discloses itself to men in their relations with the divine as well as with the devilish world. Any trash given to a man by some member of the first turns into gold; apparent calamities sent by heaven prove to be a source of happiness; divinities in human form behave apparently in the most absurd or cruel way and disclose afterward the wisdom and benevolence of their acts. On the contrary, devilish gold becomes trash, devilish food, seemingly the finest possible, is in reality composed of the most disgusting substances, the splendor and beauty with which the devil or his servants appear to men change into the utmost poverty and ugliness. Even if this tendency to lower the value of the hell community is not completely successful, it is not without its influence. The great resource of the church in inculcating the belief that the devil is ultimately harmful was, of course, the conception of future life. All the pictures of future life in hell, without exception, represent the devil as torturing the souls. The Christian teaching had probably no contrary ideas to combat or to assimilate in the sphere of the representations of the human soul's existence after death, since in the naturalistic system there were no souls.

The whole evolution of the divine community, the growth of the number, concreteness, power, and benevolence of the heavenly beings, resulted finally in an actual state of things in which the importance of divine magic is incomparably greater in practice than that of devilish magic. While the

first still pervades the whole life of the peasant, is an indispensable component of all his practical activity, the second is mostly degraded to an "old women's stuff," not disbelieved, but unworthy of a real man's occupation; it is used only incidentally, except for a few individuals, and is more a matter of credulous curiosity than a part of the business of life. It still exerts an attraction, but this attraction itself is due to its abnormal character, and evidently when an attitude comes to be considered as abnormal it is no longer socially vital.

This concerns of course only the intentional magical activity of men; it is the voluntary alliance with the devil which is rare. But the magical importance of the devil himself within the whole magical system still remains great enough to make the question of belonging to the community of God or of the devil the main religious problem. Indeed it is not only by voluntary and conscious choice that men can become members of the devil's community; every act which is as such contrary to the divine solidarity, every "sin," if not expiated, causes a temporary or durable exclusion of the man from the community of heaven and automatically makes him a member of the community of hell. The man passes many times during his life from one community to the other, not because he does not want to be a member of the divine world, but because the limitations and the duties which this membership imposes upon him are numerous and difficult to keep.

The devilish community, in this magical religious system, is an indispensable condition of the existence of the divine solidarity itself. In the naturalistic system the aim of the solidarity of natural beings was the struggle against death. Here the magical solidarity of the heavenly world has its only reason in the fight against the world of hell. The aim of the whole heavenly community, from God down to the

humblest saved soul, is to attract as many new members as possible from among the living and to own as much as possible of the material world. But as the hell community wants the same for itself, the struggle goes on. At the same time both communities, exactly like any human community, want only true members, such as do not destroy the harmony of the whole; they therefore exclude those who are not solidary. The heavenly community is more difficult in this respect, probably because it does not need new members as much as hell; but neither does the devilish community accept new members without selection. In tales and legends there are cases in which the devils drive away untrue members. In magical pacts with the devil the man must be consistent, and, for example, any mention of Jesus or the saints may lead to a terrible punishment. There are men whom neither heaven nor hell wants. Purgatory is not a mere place of punishment, but also a preparatory stage for heaven, making the souls eager and likely to be true members of the heavenly group.

The material world is also an object of contest. The heavenly beings as well as the devils want to appropriate, in the name of their respective groups, as many material objects as they can. We may say that the material world, with regard to the magical communities, plays the same part as property with regard to the family. It is perhaps not the basis, but at any rate one condition of the existence, of the group. It gives a dwelling-place, and we must remember that in this respect the devil was wronged at the beginning. It gives, as we have seen, the means of extending the power of the community among men who can act magically only with the help of material objects, and it is therefore important to give into the hands of the living adherents as many magical instruments as they can handle. Finally—and this point is not very clear—the spirits, at

least the souls, seem to need natural food and clothing; it is difficult to say whether this conception is only a vestige of the belief of regeneration after death or belongs to the magical religious system itself.

The character of the priest and the witch (or magician) within this system can be easily determined from what has been said. They are persons who by divine or devilish consecration have acquired a magical power superior to that of ordinary men, or sometimes they became priest or witch because they originally possessed this power in a higher degree. At the same time they have a knowledge of the world of spirits and of the means of magical action which was communicated to them partly by the spirits themselves, partly by other priests or witches. The priest "knows all the things, present, past or future"; the witch has perhaps a less extensive knowledge, but with regard to the devil and devilish magic she knows even more than the priest. With regard to their knowledge the functions of the priest and of the witch do not differ much from those of the *wróż* or *mądra*, except that there the object of knowledge was nature, here it is the supernatural world. But from the superior magical power of the priest and the witch result new functions. As technically trained and efficient specialists, they take the place of the ordinary men wherever strong magical action is necessary; their own power is added to the power of the magical instruments and they can attain with the latter more important results than the layman. At the same time they are intermediaries between the profane, natural life and the magical, supernatural powers. The magical power as such is undetermined; it may have any incalculable effect, and for anybody who has not power enough himself it is dangerous to manipulate objects and rites endowed with power, because he cannot efficiently *direct* their action. The priest and the witch can do this

because their will, their intention, has more magical influence by itself than the will of ordinary men, devoid of the same power.

Finally, the priest and the witch are permanent members of the respective communities (the priest can scarcely ever go to hell, the witch to heaven), and in this character they are intermediaries between the layman and the community which they represent. But this function is not necessarily limited to the official representatives of heaven or hell; a holy man, without being a priest, a possessed person, without being a witch, can play the same part. It consists in helping the respective communities to get new members or in rejecting those who are harmful, and in helping laymen to become active members of the magical groups.

The influence of this whole magical religious system upon the peasant's life-attitudes was very durable and of a great, mainly negative, importance. The belief in immediate, magical causality, inculcated for nine centuries by those whom the peasant always regarded as his intellectual superiors and applied to all the important matters of human existence, developed a particular kind of credulity with regard to the effects which may be expected from any incidents, things, or men outside of the ordinary course of life. Anything may happen or not happen; there is no continuity, consequently no proportion, between cause and effect. Out of this a feeling of helplessness develops. The peasant feels that he lacks any control of the world, while he has been accustomed to think that others have this control to an almost unlimited degree. He has no consciousness of the limitations of power of those who are his intellectual superiors and whom he does not understand, and he ascribes to somebody the responsibility for anything that happens. His only weapon in these conditions is cunning—apparent resignation to everything, universal mistrust, deriving all

the benefit possible from any fact or person that happens to come under his control.

3. The third type of religious system is purely Christian, contains no pagan elements except ceremonies which the church has assimilated and christened. It has attained its full development recently, and certain of its consequences began to manifest themselves only a few years ago. Its basis is the idea of a moral unity of the human society, under the leadership of the priest, with a view to the glory of God and to the benefit of men, in conformity with the divine law and with the help of the divine world. The mythological beings are nominally the same as in the preceding system, but the attitudes are completely different, often contrary, and this obliges us to treat this system as a different religion.

In practice the corresponding attitudes of the peasant have originated mainly in the parish life, and of course the church is their initiator. The parish is a kind of great family whose members are united by a community of moral interests. The church building and the cemetery (originally always surrounding the church) are the visible symbol and the material instrument of this unity. It is the moral property of the parish as a whole, managed by the priest. We say "moral property," because economically it does not belong, in the eyes of the peasant, to any human individual or group; it is first God's, then the saint's to whom it is dedicated. The priest manages it economically also, not as a representative of the parish, however, but only as appointed by God. This explains why in America the Poles so easily agreed in earlier times to have their churches registered as property of priests or bishops, not of the congregations who had built them. It was not a question of ownership, but a mere formality concerning management. Gradually, however, they became accustomed to the idea that churches can be treated as economic property, but up

to the present certain consequences of the American standpoint, such as the sale of a church, appear in some measure as sacrilege. The claim of the parish to the church as moral property consists in the right of the group to guard the religious destination of the church. The latter cannot be used for any other ends than those which are involved in the religious life of the group—meetings, parish festivals, dispensation of sacraments, burials, etc. Any use of the church building and its surroundings for any profane ends whatever is not only contrary to the magical character of these objects, but is a profanation of their social sacredness, an injury done to the parish-group. On the other hand, it is a moral duty of the latter to make the church as fit as possible for its religious and social purposes, and no sacrifice is spared in order to fulfil this duty. There is a striking contrast between the poverty of the peasants' private houses and the magnificence of many a country church. Building and adorning the church is one of the manifestations and the most evident symbol of the solidary activity of the parish for the glory of God. At the same time a beautiful church satisfies the aesthetic tendencies of the peasant, gives an impressive frame for religious meetings, and strengthens the feeling of awe and the exaltation which all the religious ceremonies provoke.

The moral rights and duties of the parish with regard to the church originate thus exclusively in the functions which are performed in the church. The most important events of individual, familial, and communal life occur there, at least partly; all the essential changes which happen within the parish-group are sanctioned there; the relations of the group with the highest powers are identified with this place; moral teaching, exhortation, condemnation, are received in the church. In short, the most intense feelings are connected with the place, which is therefore surrounded

with a nimbus of holiness, is an object of awe and love. Its sacred and familiar character is still stronger because it was in the same sense a center and symbol of moral unity with the preceding generations, since, as far as the peasant's tradition reaches, his fathers and forefathers had met in the same place, their bodies had been buried around it, their souls might return there on All-Souls' Day and celebrate divine service. And after the present generation their children and grandchildren will meet there also "up to the end of the world," with the same feelings toward those now living as the latter have toward the preceding generations. We understand, therefore, what the peasant loses when he emigrates, why he moves unwillingly from one parish to another and always dreams of going back in his old age and being buried in the land of his fathers. We understand also why the matters concerning the parish church are so important and so often mentioned in letters.

The divine service, at which all the parishioners meet, is the main factor in the moral unity of the group. We have already mentioned, when speaking of the peasant's social environment, the importance of meetings for the primary unorganized group. At this stage it is almost the only way for a group to have consciousness of its unity. Now in the religious meeting, during the divine service, the group is unified, not only by the mere fact of its presence in one place, but also by the community of interests and attitudes, and this community itself has particular features which distinguish it from any other form in which the solidarity and self-consciousness of the group are elaborated. When a primary group meets incidentally, it is not determined beforehand what interests among all those which its members have in common will become the center of attention, and what attitudes among all those which are the same in all or in most of its members will be unanimously

expressed. Even if the meeting is arranged with regard to a determined practical problem, and if thus a certain common interest is presupposed, the attitude which the members will take with regard to the problem is not formally predetermined, even if it may be foreseen. The conscious unity of the group is therefore mostly produced anew during every meeting—does not antedate the meeting itself. But the religious unity of the parish—not its administrative unity, of which we do not now speak—depends upon the meetings; the conscious community of interests and attitudes is kept alive only by the common assistance at the religious service. And for each particular meeting this community is predetermined; the center of interest is known beforehand, and the attitudes can be only of a definite kind and direction. This is made possible by the *ceremonial.* Every ceremony performed by the priest before the congregation has not only a magical meaning (through which it belongs to the preceding magical religious system) but also a social and moral tendency; it symbolizes a certain religious idea of a type which we shall analyze presently, and it makes this idea the center of interest of the present group. The response of the latter is also embodied in ceremonial acts—in gestures, songs, schematized prayers —and those acts symbolize and provoke definite attitudes common to all the members. This goes so far that even the sermons, with their varying contents, and the process of listening to a sermon are objects of a certain ceremonial, to some extent spontaneously evolved, non-liturgical. The gestures and intonations of the priest are performed according to an unwritten code. The congregation reacts to them in a determined way by gestures, sighs, sometimes even exclamations. A priest who does not know how to use this unofficial ritual can never be an influential preacher. Thus, through a series of successive meetings, the ceremonial

maintains a continuity of group interests and attitudes, which without it could be attained only by a perfect organization.

Besides the general meetings of the whole parish on Sundays and holidays there are partial meetings of an undetermined number of members on other occasions—mass on week days; evening prayers and singing on holiday eves; service during May in honor of Mary; service during December, preparatory to Christmas; prayers and songs during Lent commemorating the sufferings of Jesus and inciting to contrition; common preparation for the Easter confession; adoration of the Holy Sacrament during the week after Corpus Christi Day, etc. Whoever lives near enough and has leisure tries to assist at these meetings. In more remote villages small groups of people gather on winter evenings and sing in common half-popular, half-liturgical songs on religious subjects. The after-Christmas songs are called *Kolenda* and concern the coming of Christ; those during Lent are called *Gorzkie żale*, "bitter regrets," in remembrance of the Passion. In almost every parish there are religious associations and fraternities whose aim is a particular kind of worship, such as the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, the worship of Mary or some saint, common recital or singing of the rosary. They have a determined part to perform during each solemn divine service; they cultivate religious song and music. Some of them have also humanitarian and practical ends—the care of the sick and poor, help to widows and orphans, funeral and dowry insurance. These last functions are performed mainly by fraternities in towns; in the country, where familial and communal solidarity is stronger, the necessity for philanthropy and organized mutual help is less felt. All of these meetings and associations, composed mainly, but not exclusively, of women and elderly men, are under the

direction and control of the priest, even if he does not always actually preside.

It is easy to understand how powerfully this intense religious life operates in developing the unity of the parish. On other, more extraordinary, occasions the members of the parish get into an immediate touch with other religious congregations. Such occasions are festivals, celebrated once a year in every parish, where all the people from the neighborhood gather; religious revivals, organized usually by monks; visitation by the bishop; festivals during the consecration of a new church, an image, etc.; priest jubilees; pilgrimages to miraculous places. The last assume a great importance in the peasant's life when they are made collectively, often by hundreds of people, under the leadership of the priest. Hundreds of such "companies" come every year to such places as Częstochowa, Vilno (Ostra Brama), and many localities of minor importance. Some people take part in pilgrimages to Rome, Lourdes, even Jerusalem; many a man or woman economizes for many years in order to be able to make such a pilgrimage.

In cases of extraordinary calamities which befall the parish (drought, long rains, epidemics) the priest organizes a special divine service with solemn processions, carrying the Holy Sacrament through or around the parish, etc.

But even individual or familial occurrences give an opportunity for religious meetings. Every christening, wedding, or funeral is attended by numerous members of the community, and the occasion itself, as well as the corresponding ceremonial, arouses in all the assistants the consciousness of an identity of interests and attitudes.

The meetings are the most powerful factor of the moral unity of the parish, but not the only one. All the members of the group in their individual religious and moral life, as far as this life is regulated by the church, are also obliged

to manifest the same interests and attitudes. They must, all alike, go to confession and communion, perform the same duties with regard to the church, behave more or less identically in their relations with the priest; they ask for his advice, listen to his remonstrances; they say the same prayers on the same occasions, use the same consecrated objects, perform the same traditional ceremonies in the familial circles, greet one another by the same religious formulae, read the same religious books, etc. In short, they have in common a vast sphere of attitudes imposed by the church, and they are conscious of this community even outside of religious meetings—in their personal relations of every day. This makes the unity of the parish still closer and more persistent. At the same time this unity is distinguished from that which is due merely to social opinion by the fact that its form and content are equally fixed and imposed by the superior power of the church. To be sure, any phenomenon belonging to the religious sphere can also, at any moment, become the object of social opinion; the religious sphere is a part of the peasant's social environment, but it is its most fixed part. The parish in the religious sense of the term is, indeed, not an organized group like a commune or an association; it does not function as a unique group within the social world in a steady and determined way; we cannot speak of the functions of a parish. But the attitudes of its members which constitute its unity are relatively independent of the fluctuations of social opinion and are embodied in stable symbols, and in this sense this part of the peasant's social environment rises above the level of the primitive community and popular tradition, is an intermediary stage between the community and the higher, organized group of the church.

The central object of the religious attitudes of the parish is the glorification of God and the saints by acts of worship.

God becomes for the religious consciousness of the peasant the supreme lord and master of the human community; the saints, its guardians, intercessors, and models of perfection. The difference between this conception and the one which we find in the preceding system is quite essential. There the function of the spirits is magical; here it is moral and social. There man, by the magical bearing of his acts, becomes a member of a spiritual community; here the spirit, by the moral character which is ascribed to it, becomes incorporated into the human community, and social worship is the form which this incorporation assumes. A characteristic expression of this difference is found in the fact that, while in the magical system Jesus is subordinated to God, in the moral system he takes the place of God. The name of Jesus is incomparably more frequently used as that of the spiritual head of human society than the name of God. This is of course the result of the half-human personality of Jesus, which makes his incorporation into the human community much more easy and natural.

As the mythology is almost identical in both systems, the difference is evidently based upon practical attitudes. It is not a pre-existent theoretical conception of the magical nature of the spiritual world which makes the man use magic in his religious life, but the use of magic which causes the spiritual world to be conceived as a magical community. In the same way the source of worship is not a theoretical conception of the divinity as spiritual leader of the community, but the practice of worship, gradually elaborated and fixed in the complex ceremonial, is the origin of the social and moral functions of the divinity.

We have seen that in the magical system the magical bearing of human acts has been extended from those which are intentionally performed to produce a determined magical effect to the whole sphere of human activity, so that there

is hardly any action which is magically indifferent. The same happens in the moral system. The idea of worship does not remain limited to the ceremonial practices, but is extended to all human actions which have a moral value in the eyes of the community. God (Jesus) as the lord of the community is interested in its harmony, and thus every act which helps to preserve the harmony becomes at the same time an act of worship. Altruistic help, pedagogical and medical activity, maintaining of concord in the community, spreading general and religious instruction, become religiously meritorious. By a further extension every contribution to the material welfare of men by licit means is willed by God (Jesus), even the good management of one's own property. Further still, Jesus is glorified also by anything which helps to maintain a teleological and aesthetic order in the natural environment of men—agricultural work, raising and feeding domestic animals, adornment of houses, establishment of orchards and flower gardens, etc. Partly perhaps under the influence of the church, but more probably in a spontaneous way, thanks to the old idea of the natural solidarity and animation of natural objects, the idea arose that the whole of nature, even the meanest natural beings, glorify God by their life as men do. Unnecessary destruction is therefore forbidden in this system as well as in the naturalistic one, although the subordination of nature to human ends is incomparably greater since only man glorifies God in the prescribed way, only man has an immortal soul, and it is for man that Christ died.

As against this moral organization of the human community under the spiritual leadership of Jesus and the saints, the devil and devil-worship assume for the first time a distinctly evil character; they are not only harmful but immoral. The reason for this is evident. There is no

human community which would enter into the same relation with the devil that the parish enters into with God; the relation with the devil is individual and lacks social sanction and social ceremonial. The opposition between the divine and the devilish world is thus associated with the opposition between social and individual religious life, and both oppositions acquire through this association a new character and a new strength. The divine world becomes socially acknowledged, a positive social value; the devilish world is socially despised, a negative social value. The worship of God is meritorious, official, and organized; the worship of the devil illicit, secret, and incidental. A man who serves God is a good member of the community, trying to be in harmony with his group; a man who serves the devil is a rebel, trying to harm his fellow-citizens. Since every socially moral action is subordinated to the glorification of God, and since there is an essential opposition between God and the devil, every socially immoral action is conceived as serving the devil.[1]

It is only in the latter sphere, in things subordinated to the devil, that magical action keeps most of its old character, precisely because this sphere, becoming secret and individual, did not undergo the same evolution as the sphere of divine things. In the latter, actions whose meaning in the magical system consisted in bringing immediately and mechanically a determined effect become now acts of worship, and their old effect is now conceived as a divine reward, as conscious action of the divinity moved by human worship. It is no

[1] Naturally the devil, thrown out of social life, has lost still more of his old importance. Whatever he does, he does it by God's permission; God allows him to tempt men in order to give them the merit of victory. But even temptation becomes rare. The peasants have a curious explanation of this fact. God does not allow the devils to tempt men as much as they did before, because men have grown so evil themselves that if the devil could use all his power no man could be saved. The women are a little better, and therefore they are more subject to temptation and see the devil more frequently.

longer the letter, but the meaning of the prayer and the religious feeling which accompanies it that influence God or the saint; it is the confidence in, and the love of, God, manifested by the use of consecrated objects, that compel God to grant the men what they need when they are using those objects.

Only human magic, however, has changed its significance. The magical power of God remains the same. God's action still exerts an immediate influence upon the material world. But now he is supposed to exert his power with a view to the moral order which he wishes to maintain in the world, not in the interests of the heavenly community; his activity becomes altruistic, while in the magical system it was egoistic.

The rôle of the priest is modified in the same way. From a magician he becomes a father of the parish, a representative of God (Jesus) by maintaining the moral order, a representative of the parish by leading the acts of common worship. From his representation of Jesus results his superior morality, implicitly assumed wherever he acts, not as a private individual, but in his religious, official character. Therefore also his teaching, his advice, his praise or blame, whenever expressed in the church, from the chancel, or in the confessional, are listened to as words of Jesus, seldom if ever doubted, and obeyed more readily than orders from any secular power. This influence is extended beyond the church and manifests itself in the whole social activity of the priest, though there it loses some of its power, since it is not quite certainly established by the peasants whether the priest outside of the church is still in the same sense a representative of Jesus. On the other hand, from the fact that the priest is the representative of the parish in acts of worship it results that all his religious actions are supposed to be performed in the name of the community, and he is socially bound to perform them conscientiously and

regularly. In general, the greater the rôle of the priest, the greater is his responsibility and the more required from him in the line of moral and religious perfection. In later volumes we shall have the opportunity of studying more in detail the rôle which the priest plays in peasant society because of his place in the moral-religious system. For this system is now decidedly the dominating one. Naturalism survives only in fragmentary beliefs and practices and in a general attitude toward nature, whose real meaning is already in a large measure forgotten. The magical system is still strong, and the influence which it has exerted upon the peasant psychology can hardly be overestimated. But it is no longer developing, no new elements are added to it, and in fact it is rapidly declining.

The fourth system, that of individual mysticism, which we shall presently define, is still rare among the peasants and does not seem to be on the way to an immediate and strong development. But the moral-religious system not only retains almost all of its traditional power, except in some limited circles, but is still growing as new conditions of communal life arise and the old principle is applied to new problems. We already see in these first volumes of letters that most of the religious interests explicitly expressed belong to this system, and we shall see it still more clearly in other volumes.

4. Religion as a mystical connection of the individual with God expressed by the attitudes of love, personal subordination, desire of personal perfection and of eternal life with God, etc., is, as we have said, not very much developed among the peasants. The peasant is a practical man; religion remains interwoven with his practical interests, while mysticism requires precisely a liberation from those interests, a concentration of thoughts and feelings upon beings and problems having little relation with everyday life.

A sign of the lack of mysticism is the absolute orthodoxy of the peasant; unless by ignorance, he never dares to imagine any religious attitude different from the teaching of the church, because outside of the church he never imagines himself in any direct relation with the divinity. He is in this respect radically different from the Russian peasant. Still there are cases in which a mystical attitude develops during extraordinary religious meetings—revivals, pilgrimages—when the usual environment and the usual interests are for a while forgotten, and the individual is aroused from his normal state by the example of the devotion of others and by the influence of the mob of which he is a part. But these occasional outbreaks of mysticism in determined social conditions belong as much to the preceding religious system as to the properly mystical one. The way upon which the peasant can really pass into a new form of religious life leads through the problem of death. When death ceases to be a natural phenomenon preceding regeneration and becomes a passage into a new supernatural world, brooding upon the problem of death must lead to a certain detachment from the practical problems and open the way to mysticism. But this brooding upon death is possible only when the individual ceases to look upon his own death or that of his dear ones from the traditional social standpoint, from which the isolated death of a member of the group is a more or less normal event, particularly at a certain age; he must begin to view death only as a fact of individual life, for only then it has extraordinary, abnormal importance which can give birth to mystical reflections and attitudes. And this requires again more individualization than the average peasant shows, more realization of the uniqueness of the individual. We find indeed mystical attitudes always during calamities which threaten the existence of the whole community—pest or war. But single individuals develop

such attitudes only when more or less isolated from their communities (e.g., servants in large cities) or when exceptionally cultivated.

THEORETIC AND AESTHETIC INTERESTS

In Volume IV we shall have the opportunity of studying the peasant's theoretic and aesthetic interests in their full development under the influence of the culture of the superior classes. As these interests were, however, apparently never lacking, and are manifested in Volumes I and II, it will be useful to determine their place within the traditional peasant life and their relation to the practical attitudes. We shall then be able to understand how they have sometimes succeeded in occupying within a single generation the center of attention of individuals and of whole groups.

1. There are three primary forms in which theoretic interests are manifested in the peasant—the schematism of practical life, interest in new facts, and interest in religious explanations of the world.

The first is completely original. It arises out of the peasant's spontaneous reflection on his activity and its conditions, on his human and natural environment. It constitutes the peasant's "wisdom," and is very clearly distinguished by public opinion from practical ability in itself. A man may be very wise, have valuable generalizations concerning practice, and still be unpractical through lack of energy, of presence of mind, etc. This distinction assumes a satirical meaning in the tales having as their subject three brothers, two wise and one stupid. The last is always practically successful, while the first two, with all their wisdom, behave like fools.

For a man accustomed to live in action the task of reflection is not an easy one. We see how the peasant prepares for it, tries to find free time and a solitary place,

and then spends occasionally many hours in thinking. Even when he wants to write a letter which requires reflection, he treats it as a difficult and long business. A proof of the importance of reflection in his eyes is seen in the fact that he remembers for many years every act of reflection which he performed (cf. the case of Władek in Volume III). But precisely on that account the process of reflection, artificially isolated from the process of activity, assumes a somewhat independent interest; the peasant enjoys the solution of a problem as such. The numerous riddles which we find in the Polish folklore are also a proof of this.

The results of such individual acts of reflection, accumulated through generations, constitute a rich stock of popular wisdom. A part of it is expressed in proverbs; but with the growing complexity of economic and social life and growing rapidity of change the new reflections have no time to crystallize themselves into proverbs, but tend to formulate themselves in changing abstract schemes of life communicated gradually by the peasants to one another.

We may divide this practical philosophy into two classes —schemes of things and schemes of people. The first concerns agriculture, handicraft, trade, medicine, etc. It is of course impossible to study here the whole content of the respective beliefs; we can only note certain of their general characters. First, they proceed always from the particular to the general, by induction, and their systematization, the subordination of details to a general view, seems very slow. We have already noticed this with regard to economic concepts; the extension of the quantitative viewpoint to farm goods comes very late. Another very general example is the slowness of imitation. It may come from many other reasons, but a frequent reason is also the lack of generalization. The peasant who sees an estate-owner apply some new technical invention with good results does not imitate

him, simply because he does not see the identity of their respective positions as farmers. His usual argument is: "It is all right for you, who are a rich and instructed man, but not for a poor, stupid peasant like me." The difference in social position as a whole hinders him from noticing that in this particular respect he can do the same as his superior. For the same reason the peasant brings relatively little agricultural learning from season-emigration. In Germany he usually finds an agricultural level even higher than that on the estate of his neighbor, and the difference between his own farming and that of the large German estates is so great that he does not dare to generalize and to apply at home what he learned abroad. On the other hand, we find him making most hasty and superficial generalizations; proverbs and sayings concerning farmwork and weather in connection with the days of the year are based mostly upon a few disconnected observations; a new object is often classified upon the basis of a quite superficial analogy with known objects. Both the slowness and the incidental superficiality and hastiness of generalization result from the way in which the process of reflection occurs. When the peasant begins to think, the result depends upon the material which at this moment is present in the sphere of his consciousness. If the material happens to be well selected and sufficient, the generalization is valid; if not, it is false. But valid or false it will be accepted by the author himself and often by others until a time of reflection again comes and some new generalization is made in accordance with, or contrary to, the first. Because reflection requires so much effort its results are seldom verified in experience, seldom criticized. This explains the many evident absurdities and contradictory statements current among the peasants; once created they live, and they have even a useful function because they help to equilibrate one-sided views of others.

The peasant seldom uses dialectic in criticizing any view and can hardly be persuaded by dialectic. He simply opposes his opinion to another; and the more effort the elaboration of this opinion has cost him, the less willing is he to exchange it for another. He may even acknowledge that the contrary opinion is right, but he holds that his own is also right, and he feels no necessity of solving the apparent contradiction unless the problem is important enough to compel him to do some more thinking and to elaborate a third, intermediary opinion. He is so accustomed to live among partial and one-sided generalizations that he likes to collect all the opinions on some important issue, listens with seeming approval to every one, and finally either does what he intended to do at first or sets about reflecting and elaborates his own view. If he selects the opinion of anybody else, he is led, not by the intrinsic merit of the opinion, but by his appreciation of the man. If only he has confidence in the man's sincerity and intelligence, he supposes that the man's advice was the result of a sufficient process of thinking and considers it useless to repeat this thinking himself in order to appreciate the advice on its merits.

His ideas about other people are equally schematic, either appropriated from the traditional store or independently elaborated at some moment of intense thinking and afterward used without any new reflection. The peasant's general prepossession about people is that everybody is moved only either by his egotistic interest or by solidarity with his group; if neither can be detected, then evidently the man is clever enough to keep his motives hidden. If, nevertheless, a person's activity, particularly that of a stranger, is manifestly disinterested, the peasant supposes first stupidity, and recurs to altruism only as the last explanation. The only exception is the priest, who has to be altruistic ex officio; here egotistic interest is usually

the last, more or less forced, explanation. The willingness of the peasant to do business with a given person and particularly to be persuaded by him depends upon the degree to which he understands or thinks that he understands the motives of this person. He will show confidence more readily in a man whose motives he knows to be not only interested but even dishonest than in one whom he does not understand, because in the first case he can take the motives into account, while in the second he does not know how to limit the possibilities and does not know what to expect. Accordingly he has a summary and egocentric classification ready and applies it in any given case. Those of the first class are the members of his family, whose behavior ought to be determined by the familial relations themselves and from whom solidarity can be expected. Then come the members of the community, classified again according to their nearer or more remote neighborhood, their fortune, character, etc. Then come all the other, unknown peasants, whose interests are supposed to be the same as those of the known ones. The priest, the noble, the Jew, are people of different classes, but still supposedly known. The priest's official character has already been determined, and, of course, the peasant understands the usual weaknesses of the country priest—money, wine, and his housekeeper. Every noble is supposed to desire in his heart the reintroduction of serfdom; but besides this he is a farmer, a man who has innumerable common traditions with the peasant. There may be hostility between him and his peasant neighbors, but there is always more or less of reciprocal understanding. The Jew is classed once and forever as a merchant and cheater, and no other motive than money is ascribed to him; but this makes his schematization relatively easy in spite of the fact that the peasant knows little, if anything, about his familial and religious life. In this connection, however, the Jew

often cheats the peasant by putting forward a smaller or pretended interest to fit the scheme and keeping the larger and real interest in the background. Political agitators sometimes do the same. There is also a scheme corresponding to the lower officials in small towns and to the handworkers. But the peasant does not understand at all the instructed city fellows. Those who came to the country with idealistic purposes had no success at all for many years; only lately, thanks to a few eminent men, a favorable schematization has been formed of those who want to raise the peasant intellectually and economically, and the peasant has begun to understand this kind of interest.

If now it accidentally happens that one of these preestablished schemes fails in a particular or general case, the peasant loses his head. Every exception from the admitted rule assumes in his eyes unlimited proportions. A member of the family who shows no solidarity, a member of the community who does not reciprocate a service, provokes an astonishment which the peasant cannot forget for a long time. A bad, "unworthy" priest or a noble who acts against the traditions arouses the most profound indignation; and if, on the other hand, a noble (particularly a woman) proves really well disposed and democratic, without being too familiar, the peasant's attitude in the course of time comes near to adoration. And when some of the city men succeeded in breaking down the peasants' mistrust and becoming political or social leaders, the confidence of the peasants in them became unlimited, absurd. Finally, when the peasant finds himself among strangers, as upon emigration, and sees that none of his schemes can be applied to the people around him, he is for a very long time absolutely unable to control his social environment, because it takes so long to elaborate a new scheme. In the beginning, therefore, he simply must settle among people from his own

country in order to learn from them at least a few elementary generalizations, unless, indeed, as seldom happens, he has some time free to observe and to reflect. The fault is here again insufficient generalization; the peasant has schemes of particular classes of people, but not of man in general.

The interest in new facts is always strong, even if not supported by practical motives. We are here very much reminded of the curiosity of a child, without the child's restlessness. The intensity of social life in an unorganized community naturally depends upon this interest. Anything that happens within the community attracts attention, even if only the most striking of these facts become the center of attention of the whole community. Each fact provokes some kind of a reaction, and, as we have seen in a previous chapter, common attitudes are elaborated and become factors of social unity. In this way the interest in facts happening within the community has a social importance. But the peasant is not conscious of the social consequences of his curiosity; he just naïvely wants to know. And he knows and remembers everything about his environment. This is of course also useful to him personally, for it enables him to construct practical schemes; this is a consequence, however, not a motive. He does not try to know in order to build schemes, but he builds schemes when, among all the facts that he has learned, one strikes him as practically important. Consequently the sphere of his concrete knowledge is incomparably larger than the sphere of his practical schemes, and one of the most important sides of his latest intellectual development is the learning of the practical significance of things with which he was acquainted long ago.

This independence of curiosity from practical problems enables the peasant to show a lively interest in things that can have no practical importance for him. In older times

the main bulk of such information was supplied by returning soldiers, emigrants, pilgrims, travelers, beggars. Happenings in the political and religious world, extraordinary social events outside of the community, marvels of nature and industry, the variety of human mores, were and are still the main objects of interest. Fiction stories also are gladly listened to, but the interest in them seems to be in general much less lively. They are treated as history, as true, but concerning facts that were past long ago, and are therefore less interesting than those which are still real in themselves or in their consequences. When the imagination is disclosed as such, even this interest is usually lost. The peasant wants to know only about reality.

When reading developed, the interest for facts got a new food. As we shall see later, the popular newspapers have to give many descriptions of concrete facts in order to be read, and the promotion of practical and intellectual progress must to a large extent take this concrete curiosity into account. Even on a higher intellectual level this character of theoretic interests is preserved. Descriptive works on geography, ethnography, technology, zoölogy, botany, etc., have the greatest popularity; historical books are on the second plane; fiction comes last, unless its subjects are taken from the life of other classes and other nations or, in general, unless it informs about things that the peasant did not know. As a result some of the popular papers have dropped completely the old custom of publishing novels and short stories.

The situation is quite different among city workers and the lower middle class, where fiction-reading assumes enormous proportions and a powerfully developed interest for plot has favored the recent success of sensational literature. This difference of interest between the country and city population is certainly due to a difference in social

conditions. The city inhabitants have not as keen an interest in new facts as we find in the country because city life gives them a superabundance of new facts and the receptivity is deadened, and because the additional excitement which the peasant gets by sharing the news with his community is here almost lacking. The relatively unsettled character of the life of a city inhabitant as compared with that of the peasant, the uncertainty and the relatively numerous possibilities of the future, give more food for imagination, make it easier for the reader to put himself in the place of the hero of the novel and thus enjoy the plot. But, on the other hand, the numerous social and political problems raised by modern industrial life find a more ready reception among city workers than among peasants, and open the way to the development of an intense and serious intellectual life. Hence it may be said that with regard to intellectual activities the lower city class can be divided into fiction-readers without social interests and non-fiction readers with social interests.

There is indeed one kind of fiction that always finds a strong interest among the peasants; it is religious fiction—legends, lives of saints, etc. This, however, is quite a different kind of interest, based on the general theoretic and practical value which the peasant ascribes to the religious conceptions. The peculiarities of this attitude compel us to notice it here as a distinct class of theoretic interest. Here of course, the theoretic interest is not primarily independent of other kinds of interests, but is only a part of the general religious interest which contains also practical and aesthetic elements. But while in the whole complicated machinery of the cult these elements are indissolubly connected, in the myth the theoretic element predominates and becomes frequently quite isolated from the others. The relation to practice is then only mediate.

It is useful, indeed, to know everything about nature, or spirits, or magic, in order to control eventually the religious reality; but this control is exerted by the peasant himself to only a small extent, since there are specialists who not only know more than the peasant does about the nature of this world but have particular means and particular powers. Except by prayer and a few simple ceremonies, the peasant does not try to turn his knowledge directly into control, but appeals to the specialist. As soon as the latter intrudes between religious theory and religious practice the interest in theory loses its relation to practical aims. Myth then becomes for the layman chiefly a theoretic *explanation*, but, on the other hand, the interest in mythology remains for a long time the most popular form in which the peasant's desire for explanations manifests itself. The reality of this desire is shown by the fact that Christian mythology, particularly its part concerning the origin of things and of their qualities, has grown considerably, and many old myths, such as those of Genesis, have been greatly changed, systematized, and completed. Lately the explanatory sciences—physics, chemistry, biology, geology—have begun to take the place of religion.

To these three spheres of theoretic interest—schemes built in view of practice, concrete facts, genetic explanations—correspond three different types of specialists. We find, first of all, the wise and experienced old peasant who plays in the village or in the community the rôle of an adviser in troubles and is the real intellectual leader at all the meetings having some practical situation in view. He has usually a good material position; his success is a guaranty of his wisdom. He must be well known for his honesty, otherwise people would not listen to him. He must have traveled more or less and met many different people, for this gives assurance that he will be able to grasp any new

situation. He is prudent, conservative, mistrusting. He talks with deliberation, slowly, weighing carefully every word. His arguments seldom fail to persuade, because they express ideas which his listeners had more or less clearly realized themselves. He usually selects only some of the many ready schemes; his main function is their systematization and adaptation to the given practical problem. These "advisers," as we may call them, are frequently the greatest obstacle to all the efforts to enlighten and organize the peasants; but if once such an intellectual leader is won, the community follows him rapidly and easily. Such men are often elected mayors of the commune. In extraordinary epochs of rapid social change (as during the revolutionary period of 1904–6) the old adviser may be provisionally supplanted by a popular agitator whose influence is based, not upon personal authority and not upon a selection of arguments which the community implicitly approves, but upon an ability to provoke favorable feelings. Then the peasant himself finds among his various schemes the necessary arguments.

The second type may be called the "narrator." He may be old or young; formerly he should have traveled much, now he may simply read much. He is the source of information about facts. His importance is not even approximately as great as that of the adviser. He is seldom if ever asked for advice in important matters. He may have no social position at all; he may be a daily worker, a hired servant, or even a parasite. He has inherited the function of the ancient beggar or pilgrim. A solid social position is even hardly compatible with this function if the latter is steadily performed, for naturally much time is needed to learn new facts. Insignificant in times of work and serious business, the narrator becomes a personality at moments free from practical care, on winter evenings when the family and the

neighbors gather in the big room of some rich peasant—men smoking, women doing some light handiwork—and listen to the narration. Lately, since reading has developed, the narrator is being gradually supplanted by the reader.

The function of "explaining" was traditionally performed by the "wise" man or woman, and by the priest, often by the organist. Since religious explanations have begun to give place to scientific explanations there is an evident need for a new kind of specialist. Indeed, this is the moment for the appearance of the "philosopher" in the ancient Greek sense, for the modern scientist with his specialization cannot satisfy the peasant's many-sided desire for explanation. Hence this type also is beginning to develop. It is the self-taught man, reading every book he can get, always prepared to discuss any subject and eager to explain everything. He writes elaborate letters to the papers, wants to contribute to the solution of every scientific problem about which he hears, is eager to correspond with scientists whose fame reaches him, and is continually thinking about abstract matters. As this type is recent in the country his position in the peasant community is not yet sufficiently determined. But since he is the natural antagonist of the priest, it is probable that he will become an intellectual leader of the anti-religious movement when this movement develops in the country. Among the lower classes of the town population he already plays a part in this movement.

The social prestige attached to the functions of the adviser, the narrator, and the philosopher, even if often mixed in the beginning with a particular kind of condescension with regard to the two latter types, is a strong factor in instruction. Reciprocally, when instruction develops, the prestige of these functions grows. We shall see how the movement of "enlightenment" uses this circumstance for its ends.

In general, the rapid intellectual progress of the peasant during the last thirty years, as well as the progress of social organization, are made possible only through certain pre-existing features of the peasant's intellectual and social life. The men who lead the peasants have succeeded in exploiting those features for the sake of a higher cultural development, and this is their merit.

2. The aesthetic interests of the peasant have two main sources—religion and amusement.

We have already noticed the frequent analogy between religious and aesthetic fantasy; both tend to individualize their object, both find a particular meaning in the empirical data which goes beyond the sensual content. However, while in religion this super-sensual side of the world is taken quite seriously as a perfect reality and referred to practice, from the standpoint of the aesthetic interest its existence is not believed and its rôle is only to give more significance to the sensual world itself. Hence religious beliefs whose seriousness is lost or whose real sense is forgotten become aesthetic attitudes. We find innumerable examples in the peasant life. Old tales in which naturalistic religious beliefs are still plainly noticeable and many of the spirit stories are now merely matters of entertainment; the narrator often changes, shortens, develops, combines them, giving free play to his imagination. Most of the patterns, forms, and combinations of colors in popular architecture, furniture, dress, and ornament had a magical value.[1] The magical significance is mainly forgotten, but the traditional models still determine the taste. Old ceremonies whose original religious meaning can be easily recognized even now often remain only aesthetically valuable for the peasant,

[1] Cf. M. Wawrzeniecki, *Nowe naukowe stanowisko pojmowania i wyjaśniania niektórych przejawów w dziedzinie ludoznawstwa* (Warsaw, 1910).

who has a very keen sense for the picturesque, theatrical side of ceremonial groups and collective or individual performances. Often while the religious attitude is still vital it is so mixed with the aesthetic feeling that it is impossible to determine which is more important. Many religious songs are sung at home for the sake of aesthetic enjoyment, and it happens that a religious melody is used with worldly words, or vice versa. Images of saints are frequently treated simply as pictures. When the church is adorned with flowers or when girls dressed in white throw flowers before the priest during the Corpus Christi procession, the religious attitude is evidently dominant. But we cannot say this with certainty when houses are adorned at Pentecost with green and flowers or when the Christmas-tree is dressed. In short, we not only see the results of the degeneration of old religions into aesthetic attitudes, but at every moment and in innumerable details we see the process still going on.

From social amusements arise many of the aesthetic interests of the peasant. Popular music and poetry in particular have their main source here. Most of the music is developed from dance music, as the rhythm shows. All the popular poems are songs. At present it is still the custom in many localities when boys and girls meet, with or without dancing, to sing alternately old songs and invent new ones, either seriously or jokingly. Sometimes long poems are composed and repeated in this way, one stanza by a boy, another by a girl. Love is usually the more or less serious subject of the poems sung in a mixed society, while others sung by boys or girls alone have a great variety of subjects, embracing the whole sphere of peasant life.

A type of poetry whose source is undetermined is ceremonial songs and speeches in verse sung or recited at weddings, funerals, christenings, the end of harvest, and at

other familial and social festivals. Many of them are very old and in all probability originally had a religious significance. Sometimes they are modified to suit the occasion. Others are more recent, sometimes composed for the occasion, and their aim is evidently social—to entertain the persons present, to give advice and warning, to express feelings of familial or communal solidarity, to ask for gifts, to extend thanks for hospitality, etc.

More recently an intense aesthetic movement has manifested itself among the peasants, particularly along literary lines, and while this is developed upon the traditional background it tends increasingly to come under the influence of the models presented by the upper classes. There are probably few, if any, among the half-educated peasants who do not try to become poets. We shall examine this movement in a later volume.

FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE PEASANT LETTER

The Polish peasant, as the present collection shows, writes many and long letters. This is particularly striking, since the business of writing or even of reading letters is at best very difficult for him. It requires a rather painful effort of reflection and sacrifice of time. Letter-writing is for him a social duty of a ceremonial character, and the traditional, fixed form of peasant letters is a sign of their social function.

All the peasant letters can be considered as variations of one fundamental type, whose form results from its function and remains always essentially the same, even if it eventually degenerates. We call this type the "bowing letter."

The bowing letter is normally written by or to a member of the family who is absent for a certain time. Its function is to manifest the persistence of familial solidarity in spite of the separation. Such an expression became necessary only when members of the family began to leave their native locality; as long as the family stayed in the same community, the solidarity was implicitly and permanently assumed. The whole group manifested its unity at periodical and extraordinary meetings, but no single member in particular was obliged to manifest his own familial feelings more than other members, unless on some extraordinary occasions, e.g., at the time of his or her marriage. But the individual who leaves his family finds himself in a distinctive situation as compared with that of other members, and the bowing letter is the product of this situation. There is nothing corresponding to it in personal, immediate familial relations.

In accordance with its function, the bowing letter has an exactly determined composition. It begins with the religious greeting: "Praised be Jesus Christus," to which the reader is supposed to answer, "In centuries of centuries. Amen." The greeting has both a magical and a moral significance. Magically it averts evil, morally it shows that the writer and the reader are members of the same religious community, and from the standpoint of the moral-religious system every community is religious. A common subordination to God may also be otherwise expressed throughout the entire letter, but the greeting is the most indispensable expression. There follows the information that the writer, with God's help, is in good health and is succeeding, and wishes the same for the reader and the rest of the family. We know that health (struggle against death) and living constitute the reason of natural and human solidarity (only spiritual solidarity aims at power). Finally come greetings, "bows," for all the members of the family, or from all the members of the family if the letter is written to the absent member. The enumeration should be complete, embracing at least all the members who still live in the same locality, if the family is already scattered, as often happens today.

These elements remain in every letter, even when the function of the letter becomes more complicated; every letter, in other words, whatever else it may be, is a bowing letter, a manifestation of solidarity. Various elements may be schematized; the words "bows for the whole family" may, for example, be substituted for the long enumeration, but the principle remains unchanged in all the familial letters.

The bowing letter is the only one which has an original function. The functions of all the other types of familial letters are vicarious; the letter merely takes the place of a

personal, immediate communication. It has to perform these vicarious functions when the absence of the member of the family becomes so long that it is impossible to wait for his arrival.

According to the nature of these vicarious functions, we can distinguish five types of family letters, each of which is also and fundamentally a bowing letter.

1. *Ceremonial letters.*—These are sent on such familial occurrences as normally require the presence of all the members of the family—weddings, christenings, funerals, name-days of older members of the group; Christmas, New Year, Easter. These letters are substitutes for ceremonial speeches. The absent member sends the speech written instead of saying it himself. The function of such a letter is the same as the function of meeting and speech, namely, the revival of the familial feeling on a determined occasion which concerns the whole group.

2. *Informing letters.*—The bowing letter leaves the detailed narration of the life of the absent member or of the family-group for a future personal meeting. But if the meeting is not likely to occur soon, the letter has to perform this function vicariously and provisionally. In this way a community of interests is maintained in the family, however long the separation may be.

3. *Sentimental letters.*—If the primitive, half-instinctive familial solidarity weakens as a consequence of the separation, the sentimental letter has the task of reviving the feelings in the individual, independently of any ceremonial occasion.

4. *Literary letters.*—We have seen that during informal meetings as well as during ceremonies the aesthetic interests of the peasant find their most usual expression in the form of music, songs, and recital of poems. The absent member who cannot take a personal part in the entertainments

of his group often sends a letter in verse instead, and is sometimes answered in the same way. It is an amusement which has an element of vanity in it, since the letter is destined to be read in public. The literary letters certainly play an important part in the evolution through which the primitive aesthetic interests, manifested during the meetings of the primary group, change into literary interests whose satisfaction depends upon print.

5. *Business letters.*—The vicarious function of these is quite plain. As far as possible the peasant does all his business in person, and resorts to a business letter only when the separation is long and the distance too great for a special meeting.

Up to the present we have spoken of family letters, for the original function of the letter was to keep members of a family in touch with one another. Letters to strangers can perform all the functions of a family letter, but the essential one of maintaining solidarity exists only in so far as the solidarity itself is assumed. Correspondence with a stranger can also help to establish a connection which did not exist before—a function which the family letter has only when a new member is added to the family through marriage, i.e., when a stranger becomes assimilated.

We must mention also the question of the relation of expression to thought in the peasant letters. The peasant language, as can be noticed even in translation, has many traditional current phrases used in determined circumstances for determined attitudes. They are not, like proverbs, results of a general reflection about life, but merely socially fixed ways of speaking or writing. The peasant uses them, not only for traditional attitudes, but also in some measure to express attitudes which already diverge from the tradition, if this divergence is not felt clearly to necessitate a new expression. And when he

gets outside of the usual form of expression and tries to find new words and new phrases, then, of course, it is difficult for him to keep the exact proportion, particularly when he uses the literary language. He sometimes uses great words to express trifles, or, more frequently, he expresses profound and strong feelings in phrases which to an intelligent reader seem weak and commonplace, but which seem strong and adequate to the writer, who is less familiar with them. But when the peasant, instead of trying to imitate the literary language, finds for his new attitudes words in his own philological stock, his style has often a freshness and accuracy impossible to render in translation.

Further, society always tends to ritualize social intercourse to some extent, and every modification of a ritual produces disturbances more profound than could reasonably be anticipated. We have, for example, ritualized remarks on the weather in connections where social intercourse is limited to casual meetings and greetings, and if on these occasions a man remarked habitually, "Fine trees," in the place of "Fine weather," this would lead to speculations on his sanity. With the peasant, as with the savage, the whole of social intercourse, including language, is more rigorously ritualized than with ourselves, and so long as the peasant remains within the sphere of traditional language the slightest shading of the expression is significant. We notice in this connection that in our material there is very little profanity or abuse between acquaintances or family members in personal intercourse. For the outsider and the absent person there are indeed adequate forms of abuse, but between those nearly related the maximum effect can be produced by the minimum divergence from the usual language norms. See Raczkowski series, Nos. 404, 429.

SPECIMEN PEASANT LETTERS

The following letters, or portions of letters, are printed here to illustrate the elements, as enumerated above, that enter into a letter. It will be understood that these specimens are intended to represent the more primitive and elemental types, into which little of the informing and business elements enters. Specimens of informing and business letters are not reproduced at this point, as they are the dominant type in the later series. See, for examples, Wróblewski series and Kowalski series.

No. 1 below is an almost pure type of bowing letter.

No. 2 is of the same type, written to a priest who took special interest in teaching peasants to write informing letters—not very successfully in this case.

No. 3 is sentimental, designed to "warm the frozen blood" of an absent brother.

No. 4 is the ceremonial-congratulatory portion of a letter.

No. 5 is interesting as containing all the norms of a peasant letter, and also as an example of how proper and charming a letter may be within the traditional norms. The letter was written on "Palmer House" paper, but the writer was either a scrub-girl or a chambermaid. She is barely literate, as shown by the orthography and the absence of punctuation and capitalization. The girl to whom the letter was addressed could not write at all.

No. 6 is from a girl in Poland to her brother-in-law in America, and shows in its most naïve form the character of literary effort. It contains indications that the brother-in-law also was attempting literary achievement.

No. 7 is the beginning of his reply to Magdusia.

No. 8 is the rhymed and versified portion of a ceremonial letter to the writer of No. 7. As poetry it is very bad, and toward the end the versification and rhyme break down.

Generally speaking, every literate peasant tries at some time in his life to write poetry, but the tendency expresses itself in profusion only when he begins to write for the newspapers, and this situation we treat in Volume IV.

1 PERTH AMBOY, N.Y., August 11, 1911

In the first words of my letter, beloved parents, we address you with these words of God: "Praised be Jesus Christus," and we hope that you will answer, "For centuries of centuries. Amen."

And now I inform you about my health and success, that by the favor of God we are well, and we wish you the same. We wish you this, beloved parents, from our whole hearts. We inform you further that we received your letter, which found us in good health, which we wish to you. And now we ask how is the weather in the [old] country, because we have such heat that the sun is 110 degrees warm and many people fell dead from the sun during the summer of this year. Now, beloved father and beloved mother, I kiss your hands and legs. I end my conversation with you. Remain with God. Let God help you with good health and [permit me] to meet with you, beloved parents.

So now I bow to you, beloved sister, and to you, beloved brother-in-law, and I wish you happiness and health and good success—what you yourselves wish from God this same I, with my husband, wish you. So now I bow to Aunt Doruta, and to brother Aleksander, and to Józef, and to you, my grandmother, and I wish you health and good success; what you yourself wish from God the same I wish to you, beloved grandmother, and to you, beloved sister, together with you, beloved brother. Now I bow to brother-in-law Moscenski and to sister Adela, and we wish them all kinds of success; what they wish from God the same we wish them. Now we send the lowest bow to the Doborkoskis, to brother-in-law and to sister and to their children, and we wish happiness, health, good success. What they wish from God the same we wish to them. Goodbye.

Now I, Stanisław Pienczkowski, send a bow to my [wife's] parents, and I inform you, beloved parents, about my health, and that by the favor of God I am well, and the same I wish to you, beloved parents, and I ask you, beloved parents, why you do not write a letter, because I sent [a letter] to the Nowickis a week later, and they received it, and I cannot wait long enough [cannot endure the waiting] to get a letter. Therefore I ask you, beloved parents, to write me back a letter quicker.

[No signature]

2 GERIGSWALDE

I, Leon Wesoły, writing April 28, 1912. "Praised be Jesus Christus." First of all, I lay down low bows to you, Canon Priest, as to my shepherd, and I inform you, Ecclesiastical Father, about our work and health. Thanks to God and the Holiest Mother, I am well. The work that I have is to arrange the bricks for burning. Also I inform you, Canon Priest, that there was a solar eclipse on the 1st of April from 1 to 2 o'clock, but it happened so indecently that even shivers were catching a man. I do not have more to write, only I lay down sincere low bows from everybody with whom I work and live in this [despicable] Germany. Also I send a low bow to my wife, Rozalja. I do not have more to write. May God grant it. Amen. Praised be Jesus Christus. Address the same.

LEON WESOŁY

3 WARSAW, April 29, 1914

"Praised be Jesus Christus."

DEAR BROTHER: [Greetings; health]. Although we write little to each other, almost not at all, and I don't know why such coldness prevails between us, still I write this letter from fraternal feeling, not from principle. I was with our parents for the holidays of the Resurrection of Our Lord. I read your letters, the one and the other. Our parents grieve that we live only for our own selves, like egotists. So it is my duty to take the pen into my hand and with God's help to write you a few words. At first, I thank you, dear brother Jan, for your kind memory of our parents—for not forgetting them. Don't forget them in the future. Our father still looks sound and gay. Mother has grown old already, but she does not look bad, either. I have seen our whole brother-in-law [all of him]. I don't know whether you are acquainted with him. Such an [ordinary] boy! Not even ugly, only too small and with a white head. But our sister Marya looks very sickly. I could not recognize her. Stefa is in good health, but she "lacks the fifth stave" [is crazy]. And Franciszka is sick of consumption. I don't know whether it will be possible to save her, because she has been ill for the whole winter and looks like a shadow. And she is our pride, endowed with knowledge and a clever mind. What faculties she possesses for learning and for everything! So, dear brother, we ought to make the greatest efforts to keep alive a sister whom we love exceedingly and who loves us. This is the result o

my inquiries in the parental home. I write today letters to our parents also and to our aunt in Zambrów. Write to them also. I send them my photograph. Send yours also. I send my photograph also to you. Send me yours. . . . . You know the address of our aunt . . . . and I beg you, dear brother, [write to her]. She loves us so much though she never sees us. Be so good and God will reward you. This will be her whole comfort, because who can comfort her? She prays God for our health and good success. Don't forget her. I kiss you and shake your hand. Your loving brother forever.

STANISŁAW NUCZKOWSKI

May this letter warm your frozen blood! Let us live in love and concord, and God will help us.

4 PORĘBY WOLSKIE, January 30, 1910

"Praised be Jesus Christus."

DEAREST CHILDREN, AND PARTICULARLY YOU, DAUGHTER-IN-LAW: We write you the third letter and we have no answer from you. [Greetings; health; wishes.] We hope that this letter will come to you for February 16, and on February 16 is the day of St. Julianna, patron of our daughter-in-law. Well, we congratulate you, dear daughter-in-law, because it is your name-day. We wish you health and happiness and long life. May you never have any sorrow; may you love one another and live in concord and love; may our Lord God make you happy in human friendship; may you be happy and gay; may our Lord God supply all your wants; may you lack nothing; may our Lord God defend you against every evil accident and keep you in his protection and grant you his gifts, the heavenly dew and the earthly fat. May our Lord God give you every sweetness, make you happy, and save you from evil. This your father and mother wish you from their whole heart . . . . .

JAN AND EWA STELMACH

5 28, 1912

I am beginning this letter with the words: "Praised be Jesus Christus," and I hope that you will answer: "For centuries of centuries. Amen."

DEAREST OLEJNICZKA: I greet you from my heart, and wish you health and happiness. God grant that this little letter reaches you

well, and as happy as the birdies in May. This I wish you from my heart, dear Olejniczka.

The rain is falling; it falls beneath my slipping feet.
I do not mind; the post-office is near.
When I write my little letter,
I will flit with it there,
And then, dearest Olejniczka,
My heart will be light [from giving you a pleasure].
In no grove do the birds sing so sweetly
As my heart, dearest Olejniczka, for you.

Go, little letter, across the broad sea, for I cannot come to you. When I arose in the morning, I looked up to the heavens and thought to myself that to you, dearest Olejniczka, a little letter I must send.

Dearest Olejniczka, I left papa, I left sister and brother and you, to start out in the wide world, and today I am yearning and fading away like the world without the sun. If I shall ever see you again, then, like a little child, of great joy I shall cry. To your feet I shall bow low, and your hands I shall kiss. Then you shall know how I love you, dearest Olejniczka. I went up on a high hill and looked in that far direction, but I see you not, but I see you not, and I hear you not.

Dear Olejniczka, only a few words will I write. As many sand-grains as there are in the field, as many drops of water in the sea, so many sweet years of life I, Walercia, wish you for the Easter holidays. I wish you all good, a hundred years of life, health, and happiness. And loveliness I wish you. I greet you through the white lilies, I think of you every night, dearest Olejniczka.

Are you not in Bielice any more, or what? Answer, as I sent you a letter and there is no answer. Is there no one to write for you?

And now I write you how I am getting along. I am getting along well, very well. I have worked in a factory and I am now working in a hotel. I receive 18 (in our money 32) dollars a month, and that is very good. If you would like it, we could bring Wladzio over some day. We eat here every day what we get only for Easter in our country. We are bringing over Helena and brother now. I had $120 and I sent back $90.

I have no more to write, only we greet you from our heart, dearest Olejniczka. And the Olejniks and their children; and Władysław we greet; and the Szases with their children; and the Zwolyneks with

their children; and the Grotas with their children, and the Gyrlas with their children; and all our acquaintances we greet.

My address: North America [etc.]

Goodbye. For the present, sweet goodbye.

6 WÓLKA SOKOŁOWSKA, April 22

I sit down at a table
In a painted room.
My table shakes.
I write a letter to you, dear sister and
brother-in-law.
A lily blossomed
And it was the Virgin Mary.
I dreamed thus
That my heart was near yours.
First we shall greet each other,
But not with hands,
Only with those godly words,
The words "Praised be Jesus Christus."

I inform you now that it is cold here, hard to plant or to sow anything. I beg you, don't be angry with me for not having answered you [for] so long, but I had no time.

Now I am writing to you, dear brother-in-law, with a smile, for when I read your letter, I laughed very much and I thought that you must have been in a good school since you knew so [well] how to compose that letter. But all this [that you write] is nothing [cannot come to pass], for is there any boy quite ready to come [and to marry me]?

Now, dear sister Ulis, I inform you that Jasiek went to you and I remained at home, for we could not both go together. And then, perhaps [sister] Hanka will get married, so there would be nobody to work. Perhaps there will be a wedding [Hanka's] when everything is planted. Now I beg you, dear brother-in-law, and you, Ulis, send me a few cents, for when I am a best maid, I should like to treat my . . . . [illegible word], and I have no money, for at home nothing can be earned. And I think that you don't need much money yet, for you have no children. Now I thank our Lord God that I have got such a good and funny brother-in-law, that we know how to speak to

each other in such a funny way in our letters. When I am marrying I will invite you to be my best man. Now there won't be any war. Now there is nothing more interesting at home, only we are in good health, all of us, and we wish you the same. Our cattle are healthy, thanks to God. There is nothing more to write. When Hanusia is married they will write for you [to come] and invite you. . . . . [Greetings.]

[MAGDUSIA]

Now, dear [cousin] Jaguś, I write to you. When father was once in your mother's house, your mother talked much against you, for when Makar was coming back to our country Józef [your husband] wanted to give [send] trousers and a blouse, but you did not give [them]. So your mother is angry with you.

7 April 6, 1914

Go, little letter, by railway
But don't go to the tavern, where people drink beer,
For if you went there, you would get drunk.
And you would never find the way to my sister,
Go, little letter, through fields and meadows
And when you reach Magdusia, kiss her hand.

And now "Praised be Jesus Christus" and Mary, his mother, for she is worthy of it. . . . .

[JÓZEF DYBIEC]

8 BRANNAU, December 11, 1910

. . . . And now, beloved brother and dear brother-in-law,
On the solemn day of Christmas and New Year
I send wishes to your home,
And I beg you, beloved brother-in-law and sister and dear brother,
Accept my wishes,
For I am of the same blood as you.
On this solemn day I am also rejoicing.
And if I live and come back, I shall wish you by words.
I think that I shall live to come back to you,
And I wish you to live until then,
And to congratulate together one another.

For the day of New Year I wish you everything;
May the Lord God bless you from His high heaven.
I wish you happiness and every good luck,
And, after death, in heaven a heavenly joy.
As many sands as there are in the sea, as many fishes in the rivers,
Even so much health and money I wish you.
As many drops as fall into the sea,
Even so much happiness may God grant you.
And now I wish you happy holidays
And a happy "Hey, kolenda, kolenda!"[1]
And may you live until a gay and happy New Year.
And may God grant you health and strength for work,
And may you earn much money.
And I wish you a fine and merry amusement
On Christmas day at the supper.
I will not write you more in verses,
For I have to write in other words [i.e., in prose].

. . . .

STANISŁAW DYBIEC

[1] Refrain of a Christmas song.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF FAMILY-GROUPS

In addition to the exhibition of various attitudes these letters show the primitive familial organization in its relation to the problems which confront the group in the various situations of life. These situations are conditioned either by normal internal and external processes and events to which the familial organization was originally adapted—birth, growth, marriage, death of members of the group, normal economic conditions, traditional social environment, traditional religious life—or by new tendencies and new external influences to which the familial organization was not originally adapted, such as the increase of instruction and the dissemination of new ideas, economic and social advance, change of occupation, change of social environment through emigration to cities, to America, and to Germany, and contact with neighboring nationalities, mainly the Russian and German.

Materials of this character do not lend themselves to a strictly systematic arrangement, but the letters are arranged as far as possible with reference to the presentation of two questions: the dominant situation in which the group or its member finds itself, and the progressive disintegration of the family-group.

BOREK SERIES

We place first a short series of letters written by children. The girl, Bronisława, is about seventeen years old, the boy, Józef, thirteen or fourteen. The business part of the letters is evidently written at the request of the parents. The Polish of the letters is very interesting, typically peasant, without the slightest influence of the literary language; even many phonetic peculiarities find their expression in the spelling. This proves that the writers, particularly the girl, who is the principal author, are untouched by new cultural influences. And indeed for a Polish reader Bronisława appears as a perfect type of a plain peasant girl in all her attitudes and interests. And this is the more noticeable because in the same village and vicinity live families who, particularly in the younger generation, are to a great extent outside and partly above the traditional peasant set of attitudes. This proves how individualized and variable is the influence of modern life upon the peasant milieu; we meet wide variations even within a single family.

The particular freshness and vividness of interest toward all the elementary problems of communal, familial, and personal life shown in this series—typical for the peasant, though in the case of Bronisława due in part to the fact that the girl is passing from childhood to womanhood—may be compared both with the Markiewicz series (Nos. 142 ff.), where many interests have been developed under the influence of instruction, and with the Kanikuła series where the lack of interest in the communal life results in an intellectual dulness which hinders the persons from becoming interested in the variety of situations which even the simplest life involves.

Another point of special interest in this series is the early fixation of attitudes in the peasant child. In a "primary" group like the peasant community the schematization of life in its main outlines is relatively fixed and simple, and the attitudes and values involved are universally and uncritically accepted. The child, as we may note in these letters, participates freely in the interests of the family and the community and acquires at a tender age the elements of a very stubborn conservatism.

9–16, FROM BRONISŁAWA AND JÓZEF BOREK IN POLAND TO THEIR BROTHER IN AMERICA

9 DOBRZYKÓW, October 9, 1913, month 10th

DEAR BROTHER: [Usual greetings and wishes; letters received and sent.] As to this Alliance, you can inscribe yourself [become a member], for you may be in danger of life.[1] Moreover, you will receive a paper, you will have something to read. In our whole parish there is no news. The priest is building a barn and is calling for money. The organist is already consecrated as priest. He was here in Dobrzyków. In Gombin they are building the basement of the church. In Dobrzyków they sing very beautifully [in the choir]. They want to build schools in the commune of Dobrzyków,[2] but people don't want to agree, because it would be very expensive for every morg [taxes being paid in proportion to land]. Nothing good happened here. It rains more than in any year. [Crops and farm-work.] We should have harvested everything, but we had to work back [pay back with work] for the horses which they [our neighbors] lent us to plow. When we were digging [potatoes], an accident happened. Our hog broke his leg. And, in general, times are sad, it is autumn, it rains continually, and everything is very sad. My

[1] The Polish National Alliance in America insures its members. But the plan of life insurance is little known among the peasants, and in this case the girl seems to assume that the insurance of life would protect from death.

[2] The result of a new law permitting every commune to have as many schools as it determined, and assuring certain governmental help. This led to an agitation among the peasants by the intelligent classes for the development of public instruction. (See Vol. IV.)

dear brother, I am also weary [with staying] at home. And now, we beg you, send us as soon as possible any money which you can, for we need it very much. . . . . And now you have a new suit, so send us your photograph, for I am curious to see. . . . . Grodny's [daughter] Ewka is going to America, also to Chicago. She boasted that she is going to a sweetheart. She told it only to me, but people are also talking about it. Amen.

[BRONISŁAWA]

10 October 26, 1913

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: . . . . We received the money, 100 roubles, for which we thank you heartily. . . . . With [sister] Michalina it is as it was. She has no wish to marry this one, she waits for another. And now we inform you what we did with this money. We gave the Markiewiczs those 50 roubles back with interest, and to the [commune] office a payement and interest. You asked for our advice, dear brother, whether you ought to inscribe yourself in the alliance. [Repeats the advice of the preceding letter.] When you send money, now, it will be for Michalina [i.e., dowry]. We are very satisfied that our Lord God helps you, so that people even envy you. What are the wages for girls? What could I earn? Although you work much, yet at least you earn well.

I [Józef] have an accordeon, and I assist at the holy Mass. Mother bought me a surplice. Bronisława goes to the choir and sings. Now it is sad here, because autumn came.

I, Bronisława, and I, Józef, beg you, dear brother, with our whole heart, send us 10 roubles for a gramophone. Now I inform you, dear brother, that I long very much for you, because I never see you. I have tears in my eyes always whenever I remember you.[1]

[BRONISŁAWA]

11 December 23, 1913, month 12th

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: . . . . We received your letter. . . . . We were very sad, particularly Brońcia [Bronisława] and I, Józef, that you did not write for so long a time. . . . . We have now not so much work. . . . . We have holidays. It will be very merry for us,

[1] Certainly the longing is sincere, but it is here naïvely used to make the brother more favorable to the request. We see in it the germ of the policy of Kozłowska. (Cf. that series.)

for now they [the season-workers] have come from Prussia, so there are many people in our village. We have no horse, for we don't need it any more. Our young cow will calve soon. After Christmas we shall thresh the rest of the rye. We killed the pig for ourselves. . . . . There is no news now. . . . . In carnival perhaps there will be more news. [Marriages enumerated.]

There is a blacksmith who wants to buy the forge. . . . . Do you order us to sell it or not, for he is waiting. . . . . We ask you, dear brother, whether you write letters to Bugel's daughter, for Bugel boasted to our father that she intends to wait for you. Władysława Jarosińska boasts also [that you write to her]. Bronka [Bronisława] is curious what work she will do in America and what weather is there now. We thank you for this gift which you intend to send us. When you send it, address it to Bronka's name, or else they [the parents] will take it. Now I, Józef, know already how to assist very nicely at the Mass in Latin. And the singers [women] sing beautiful Christmas songs. Our priest built a very nice barn. And in Gombin they built a barn for people [to worship], because only the basement of the church is ready. And Walenty Ostroski began to go [to the church] and to sing, but he had no voice.

And I, Bronisława, will probably visit you in the spring, for we don't know with certainty whether Michalina will get married or not. I, Bronisława, I could marry if I wanted to take the first man, but I won't marry just anybody. Szymański's son wants to marry me, and perhaps it would be well for me, because he will take me to Warsaw, to [set up] a shop or restaurant. But I don't want him, for he is crippled. I have another who turns my head, but only when he comes back from the army. If Michalina marries, I will also marry. But I am not in a hurry to get married. Did I merit with God nobody more than him [the cripple]? Our Lord God will help me to get somebody else. I hide myself from him, but he comes to me nevertheless, and brings with him more boys from the mills. We ask you whether Witkowski has children in America, or some additional wife? . . . . Alina Krajeska brought a small Prussian for herself [had an illegal child in Prussia]. We inform you, brother, what a good father we have. He lives like a king, and we all—you know how it was before? Well, now it is still worse. It is hard, much to complain of on all sides. . . . .

I, Bronisława and Józef Borek

12 February 10, 1914

. . . . I, Bronisława, received 10 roubles and 1 copeck, for which I thank you heartily, dear brother. Now we inform you that the wedding [of Michalina] has been celebrated already on the day of Our Lady of the Thunder-Candles,[1] at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Very few guests were in our house, only 60. There were 4 musicians. The music was very beautiful. The musicians were strangers, from Wyków. There were 8 best men and 8 best girls. . . . . The wedding was very merry, so that even grandmother and grandfather danced. [Enumerates other weddings.] We were at the *poprawiny* [supplementary dancing; literally, "repairing"; a festival to complete a former one] in Trosin, in the house of the parents of our brother-in-law. He is a great success for us. Their fortune is big enough. . . . . If you did not send those 100 roubles, don't send them now, only together [with the next] in March, because we don't need them now. Don't be afraid, you can send this money, we won't waste it, we shall lend it at interest. We have nothing more to write, only we salute you. Brother-in-law and Michalina salute you. And now we will write you who was with us at the wedding. [Enumerates.] And others also, but we won't express [name] any more. The family of our brother-in-law is orderly and full of character and agreeable and good. The brother-in-law's brother has an accordeon of one and a half tunes [octaves?], worth 40 roubles. He plays and sings very nicely. Michalina is greatly respected, all his brothers kiss her hand. . . . .

[Bronisława and Józef]

13 February 26, 1914

. . . . Dear Brother: . . . . Our young cow calved on February 18. 'Grandfather and grandmother promise to will their land to Michalina, from April 1. They are to live in the grandparents' house, to give them to eat and 1 rouble every week. Our young cow calved, had a she-calf. We shall keep her. And you, Władzio, don't be afraid that we shall lose this money; we won't waste it, we won't spend it on drinking; when you come back, you will have this money. . . . . Michalina collected 25 roubles for her caul.

And I, Michalina Jasińska, thank you for the forge which you gave me for my caul, and also for those 100 roubles which you intend

[1] So called because of the ceremony of the consecration of candles supposed to avert thunder-stroke.

to send me for the wedding, although you did not send them. . . . . We borrowed 100 roubles from Markiewicz, but this money we paid back to K. . . . . With the money which I collected for my caul I bought for myself a feather-cover, 3 pillows, and I paid 2 roubles to the cook. There were gaps enough which I had to stop. Only 10 roubles were left, and they want me to give even them, grandfather for a horse, and father for flour. Well, I got married, it is true, but I am neither upon water nor upon ice [not settled]. . . . .

And now I write, Bronisława B. . . . . In our choir there are few girls left, for the others got married. [Enumerates these.] On the last day of carnival we were in Trosinek [with the parents of the brother-in-law]—our brother-in-law, Michalina, grandfather and I. His brothers respect me much. His brother played the accordeon, and I played also. They were at our house on Sunday. People envy us very much because of this luck. Now our brother-in-law is in our house, and later perhaps he will be in grandfather's house, for grandfather cannot work. And perhaps he will will him [his farm], for he pleased grandfather much. And I, Bronka, shall be at home, for you write, dear brother, that in America it is bad. Don't grieve, dear brother, about me, I shall get married even in our country, since Michalina is already married.[1] But I will wait until you come from America, for I desire either you, dear brother, to be at my wedding, or myself to be at yours. Either I will be best girl at your wedding or you shall be best man at mine.

We are very satisfied that Michalina got married, only we were very sorry that you were not at the wedding. His brothers are so agreeable that nobody could be ashamed of them. They greet us while they are still far from us. The youngest of them is 20 years old. From this money I, Bronka, bought myself stuff for a dress, and I, Józef, a suit, and we gave mother the rest. Michalina had a white dress at her wedding. Three carriages went to the wedding. I greet you, I, Bronisława, and I, Józef.

14 May 19, 1914

. . . . We thank you, dear brother, for your photograph, and father asks you for money—to send some to us. If you cannot send more, send at least 100 roubles for the Markiewiczs, and if you can

[1] The younger daughter customarily waits for the marriage of the older, and parents usually refuse to let the younger daughter be married first.

send more, send more. We should lend it . . . . in a very sure place. . . . . Markiewicz [Stanisław] from Zazdzierz came on May 15 [from America], and gave us money, 2 roubles. . . . . I, Józef, thank you for these 2 roubles. . . . . Our brother-in-law got acquainted with Michalina as boys usually do with girls, as you did with Bugłówna. Dear Władzio, Bugiel boasts that Staśka is to wait for you. But she is sick with consumption. . . . . If our Lord God allows you to come back, you could marry where Wiktor Markiewicz did. He wishes you to marry there [his wife's sister]. And of those singers none sings any more, because they quarrelled with the organist and the priest, and now others are learning. I go to sing whenever I have time, and later perhaps I shall go weeding. . . . . I shall earn at least enough to buy slippers.

BRONISŁAWA

15 June 5, 1914

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . We received money, 500 roubles, for which we thank you heartily. . . . . Michalina and our brother-in-law are leaving us. They will rent a lodging, because the old ones [grandparents] won't take her yet. Now we inform you what was the news at Pentecost: a merry-go-round, a theater, 12 crosses [processions], many of them from far away.

[JÓZEF]

I, Bronisława Borek, write to you a few words, dear brother. About money I shall write later on, where we lend it, for now we don't know yet. And so, my dear brother, our father cannot come to an understanding with our brother-in-law. I am very ashamed and pained, and I don't know how it will be further. I will write you more, for I have nobody to whom to complain. I will go soon to work, for 4 weeks. . . . . Władysław Żabka writes me letters from the army. He wants to marry me when he comes in autumn from the army, but I don't want to. I should prefer some craftsman, and I will wait until I get some craftsman. . . . .[1]

[BRONISŁAWA]

16 July 23, 1914

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . Your money is lent. Jan Gołębiewski borrowed 100 roubles and Jan Switkowski 300 roubles. We have notes. . . . . Now we inform you about our farm-stock. We have

[1] Because she wants to go to the city.

2 cows and one she-calf from the young cow. Father bought a cow for Michalina . . . . and they were to go and rent a lodging, but they sold the cow and took the money and don't go anywhere. . . . . Michalina does not want to buy a cow for herself, but they began to trade in pigs and orchards. For me, Józef, they [the parents] bought nice shoes, but only a cotton-suit, for there was not enough left for a cloth-suit. Father hardly could calculate. . . . .

[JÓZEF]

And now I, Bronisława, write you a few words, dear brother. . . . . We inform you what father did with these 100 roubles. He bought a cow for Michalina, a horse [for himself] and made the payment in the [communal-bank] office. We gave Michalina a cow once, but we won't give her one a second time. You have sent us already 600 and 12 roubles. Dear brother, we thank you very much for the money which you sent. People marvel much, that our Lord God helps you so, and they envy. Don't grieve that a single grosz will be lost. When you return, all this will be given back to you. . . . . I intended to send you wishes for your name-day, but I was not at home, I was working on the other side of the Vistula. I have worked for 5 weeks. I earned enough to buy a nice velvet dress and slippers, and I have also a watch. Perhaps later I will send you a photograph of my person. I am not going to sing any more, for I have no time. . . . . Although I am tired with work and burned with the sun, at least I have something to dress myself in. . . . . Michalina is with us, but for the winter we want her to go away, because it is too difficult to live all together. . . . .[1] Dear brother, I would ask you, I, Bronisława, be so kind and add some money for a sewing-machine for me. . . . . I will now go to work, I will work for some weeks, and if you offer me anything I could buy one. . . . . But if you offer me anything, send it to my name, because those 10 roubles our parents took. . . . . .

[BRONISŁAWA]

[1] Michalina's grandfather was evidently expected to retire and will her the farm, but he declined to do this and her father, counting on the grandfather's help, had failed to provide her with a sufficient dowry. So the young people find themselves in a difficult situation. We see here, as elsewhere, that the retirement of the old people is a necessary link in the familial organization.

WRÓBLEWSKI SERIES

The Wróblewskis live in the northeastern part of ethnographical Poland, in a relatively poor province. The family (whose real name we do not use) belongs to the peasant nobility and is relatively well instructed. It has lived in the same village since at least the fifteenth century. Twelve neighboring villages are chiefly occupied by descendants of the same ancestors, though their names have been partly diversified. The community of origin has probably been in a large measure forgotten.

The main figure of the series is Walery Wróblewski, the author of most of the letters. His letters belong almost exclusively to the informing and relating type; their function is to keep up the familial connection between Walery and his brothers by sustaining and developing a common "universe of discourse" and a sphere of common interests. Thanks to this, the letters become particularly valuable for us. They give us, indeed, a full account of the fundamental life-interests of Walery, who in this respect represents very well the normal Polish peasant.

The essential interest is clearly that of work, particularly of personal work. The salaried labor (as gardener at the governmental railway-station) plays in Walery's life a purely additional part and is done merely for the sake of money, while his life-business is farm-work. It is the same with the average Polish peasant, with whom even the difference between farm-work and salaried work is frequently expressed in a separation of economic aims: the farm has to give *living* for the whole family (lodging, board, fuel), better or worse according to its size, the value of the soil, etc., while any *cash* needed for clothes, pleasures, ceremonies,

etc., has to be earned outside, by salaried work, either on a neighboring estate or through season-emigration. A peasant who does not need additional income from his own or his children's paid labor is above the normal; a peasant who needs additional income for living is on the edge between the farmer-class and the country proletariat.[1]

But the curious point in the present case is that the interest in work as such is already independent of its economic purpose, and that this independent interest is shown only with regard to the farm-work. Walery puts his whole life into farming, house-building, etc., and does not care much about his salaried work, in spite of the fact that the farm is not his own, while the money which he earns is his personal property. He complains continually about his insecure situation, and still he works for the pleasure of work. The interest is objectified. The same objectification is shown in his eagerness to learn everything about the farming of his brothers in America.

The second fundamental set of interests is that of the family. It happens that we find here most of the possible familial situations:

1. Walery's relation to his father and brothers on the ground of the problem of inheritance. In this relation Walery, the oldest brother, as against the father and partly against Feliks, represents the old principles of familial solidarity—according to which the family should act harmoniously as a whole, and the father should pursue the interests of this whole, not his own egotistic ends—and of justice—according to which the economic problems should be settled upon a moral as against a merely legal basis. This relation is expanded and complicated by the new marriage of the father. The stepmother is not an isolated individual, but the member of another family, and the

[1] Cf. Introduction: "Economic Attitudes."

antagonism of interests prevents absolutely her assimilation to her husband's family. On the contrary, as no harmonious coexistence of the two families is possible, it is the husband, Walery's father, who loses all connection with his own family and becomes assimilated to his wife's family.

2. Purely sentimental and intellectual relation between Walery and Antoni.

3. Walery's relation to his first wife through her sickness and death. (See notes.)

4. Walery's relation to his stepdaughter Olcia—an economic and sentimental problem. (See notes.)

5. Walery's relation to his children, and the evolution which goes on under the influence of changes in the economic situation and of the progressive manifestation of the character of the children. He continues to work on the farm for their sake and out of interest in work; but his feelings change. As long as his first wife lives his paternal attitude is perfectly normal; he is the head and representative of the family. After her death he becomes merely a guardian, and his security and authority are shaken. But the children are small, and they may be as poor as he, for half of the farm belongs to Olcia, and thus a feeling of pity keeps his paternal attitude definite and strong. After the death of Olcia his children are the only rightful proprietors of the farm. But as they become older his personal situation isolates itself in his mind from that of his children, and a slight antagonism appears between himself and the oldest son, though he still hopes that the latter will eventually take the farm and care for him in his old age. Finally he marries again, new children appear, it becomes evident that his son cannot be expected to take him and his new wife and children, and his interests become almost completely dissociated from those of the children of his first wife. The

sentimental connection is the only one left and even this seems weakened in the last letters.

6. Walery's relation to his second wife. (See notes.)

7. Walery's relation to his sister-in-law, Feliks' wife. This is only sketched, but in very distinct lines. There is a marked mutual hostility whose immediate cause is certainly economic antagonism, but it is prepared by the total estrangement resulting from the long separation and the quite different conditions in which Feliks and his family have lived. These facts illustrate two very general phenomena: (1) As we see in many letters, even a normal relation through marriage (to say nothing of an abnormal one like that resulting from the third marriage of Walery's father) is ceasing more and more to produce a connection between the persons thus allied; acquaintance and friendship, if not community of interest, are necessary to consolidate the relation. In other words, the assimilation of a new member has become more difficult and longer since the old type of peasant family began to disintegrate. (2) The estrangement brought by emigration to Russia is much more profound than that resulting from emigration to America. This difference, it seems, is due to the fact that emigration to America has become a more normal and ordinary course, always with the expectation of return, and that the emigrant is more or less identified in America with strong and numerous Polish communities. At any rate, the Russian life, with its weaker familial organization, exerts a more disorganizing influence on the emigrant. Another good example of this is found in the Raczkowski series, letters of Ludwik Wolski.

With regard to the religious interests, Walery's attitude is also the typical attitude of the modern peasant. His religious life, while very strong, has mainly a social form. The individual relation to the Divinity, as expressed in

prayer, vision, ecstacy, feeling of subordination, etc., is quite secondary as compared with the social side of religious reality—meetings, public service, church-building, priesthood, etc. We find the former attitude only once clearly expressed (No. 37). There are but slight traces of the old naturalistic religious system and little interest in the magical system.

The social interests of Walery are limited practically to his relations with neighbors and acquaintances. He does not seem to play any active part in the political organization and activity of his commune—the only political group in which a peasant can be active. But he is interested as an observer in general social and political phenomena, upon which he can exert not the slightest influence. The form of this interest is also typical for the peasant of the present time; it marks the transition from a total lack of such interests to the effort to influence practically the political and social organization, as we already find it among the city workers and to some extent among the peasants, and expressed in socialistic, nationalistic, and economic associations.

The interest in plays and amusements is not strong in Walery, and is never so in peasants of his age, burdened by the heavy task of life. Social entertainments are, in fact, the only form of recreation which a peasant knows—besides drinking and card-playing, which may be regarded also as forms of social entertainment, and in this character (not as independent amusements) are morally permitted. The variety of amusements is much greater among city workers. Nevertheless in the case of Walery we find a relatively new amusement—photography.

Walery's purely theoretic interests are turned toward natural, particularly cosmic, facts. It may be noted that in general popular books on natural sciences are the favorite reading of the peasants.

We notice an absolute lack of one interest which prevails in many other series—the one which we may term the "climbing" tendency. Walery does not try to get into a higher class, although the fact that he is a skilled workman (gardener) and the relative degree of his instruction would enable him to do this more easily than could many others.

The lack of this tendency may be explained by the exceptional social conservatism prevailing among the peasant nobility of this province. Living for centuries in analogous conditions, with very few opportunities to rise to the level of the middle nobility, particularly since a political career was closed after Poland's partition, and economic advance hindered by overpopulation, poor soil, and lack of industry in this province, lacking the incentive to advance which was given to the peasants proper by liberation and later by endowment with land, the peasant nobility is more stabilized in its class-isolation than any other of the old classes. And there is little to achieve within the community by climbing. Walery tries perhaps to be the first of his village, but rather by personal qualities than by social or economic influence.

He has some pride in his work, in his house, and his garden-products, but no vanity. And in general, the problem of social hierarchy seems hardly to exist for him. No determined attitude toward the higher classes is ever expressed.

The only other type more or less definitely outlined in these letters is that of the father. His fundamental feature, by which his whole behavior is explained, is the powerful desire to live a personal life up to the end, in spite of the tradition which requires the father to be the bearer of the familial idea and to resign his claims on the control of economic and general familial matters when he is partly invalided by age and unable to manage those matters for

the greatest benefit of the family.[1] In his struggle against this tradition, the old Wróblewski finally has no course other than to resign completely his place in his own family. In fact he becomes a stranger, and can thus live an unimpeded personal life. By marriage he gets, it is true, into another family, but the latter has no claims upon him.

The other characters, as far as determined in the material, seem perfectly clear.

THE FAMILY WRÓBLEWSKI

Wróblewski, a farmer
His second wife
"Klimusia," his third wife
Walery, his son
Józef, his son
Antoni (Antoś), his son (lives in America)
Konstanty (Kostuś), his son (lives in America)
Feliks, his son (lives in Russia)
Walery's first wife
Anna P., Walery's second wife
Feliks' wife
Józef's wife

Olcia (Aleksandra), daughter of Walery's first wife

Edward, Wacław, Józia, Michał } Walery's children by his first wife

17–57, FROM WALERY AND JÓZEF WRÓBLEWSKI IN POLAND, TO THEIR BROTHERS IN AMERICA: 17–54, FROM WALERY; 55–57, FROM JÓZEF.

17 ŁAPY, January 2, 1906

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: [Usual greetings and generalities about health.] Your letter of October 29 I received on December 30. It traveled for about 2 months, and perhaps it lay in the post-offices,

[1] In this regard there is a striking likeness between himself and Franciszka Kozłowska (cf. that series), with this difference, that Kozłowska, as a woman, was never called upon to be the representative of the familial idea.

because there has been a strike. All the trains stopped for more than a week, and afterward in the post and telegraph service there was a strike for 3 weeks. "Strike" means in our language "bezrobocie" and in Russian "zabastowka" ["stopping of work"]. It happens now very often among us, particularly in factories. Workmen put forward their demands. They want higher pay and a shorter working-day; they refuse to work more than 8 hours a day. Now everything has become terribly dear, particularly with shoemakers and tailors. . . . . Even now there is no order in the country, the whole time tumults about liberty are going on, because on October 30 the Highest Manifesto was proclaimed concerning personal inviolability, liberty of the press, etc. In a word, by favor of the monarch we have more liberty, because we are citizens of the country, not as formerly, when we were only subjects; now we are all equal in the country. Papers are published without censure, so they now write more truth, only all this is not yet fixed. The liberty of speech has also been given by the Highest Manifesto, and for this reason different songs are sung, as "Boże, coś Polskę. . . . . " In short, thanks to God, conditions would not be bad, but still much trouble can happen, because there is no peace in the land, and even terrible things happen, as in Moscow and many other towns. . . . . [1]

[1] The revolution of 1905–6 contributed greatly to the development of social consciousness and interest in political problems among the peasants. Up to this time those interests in Russian Poland were developed artificially, by patriotic agitation from the intelligent classes. Indeed, the relative simplicity and isolation of peasant life, together with the bureaucratic organization of the Russian state made it hardly possible for the peasant to understand that there was any relation between the real interests of his life and the more general political problems. The communal self-government allowed, within certain limits, the settlement of most of the problems of everyday life, but outside of the commune the peasant had no influence upon social and political life, and thus all the phenomena whose source lay in the state and in the economic organization—law, military service, taxes, school-organization, official language, means of communication, prices of natural and manufactured products—appeared to him as regulated once and forever by a superior and undetermined force. His attitude toward them was more or less like his attitude toward the weather—fundamentally passive resignation, with sometimes an attempt to influence with prayer or gift the powers in their treatment of the individual's own sphere of interests. (Cf. Introduction: "Social Environment".) The revolution of 1905–6 showed the peasant that this assumed order is modifiable and may be influenced directly and in its organization by human will; it showed at the same time unknown and unsuspected relations between many apparently abstract problems and the facts of everyday life.

At last I received your letter which I awaited so impatiently. . . . . It is not right not to write for so long a time; for more than half a year we had no news from you. We don't ask you to send us money, because we still live as we can, but we request you to send letters more often; other people send them every month or even more often. Although they don't know how to write themselves, still they give news and ask for information about what is going on at home. I believe that you are interested to know, particularly now. . . . . Józef was somewhat offended by your letter. It was impossible to avoid it. I had to give him the letter to read; if I had not, he would have said that we have a secret, and this ought not to be among us.[1] As to your coming, do as you wish, only reflect about it and write us positively this or that, because the farm cannot remain as it is now. If you don't intend to come, Feliks will agree to return, but I believe that he is too weak for farm-work. Nevertheless there seems to be no other way, because it will be difficult to repair the losses. I intend also to leave my position soon and to stay at home, because it is very difficult [to be employed and to farm together]. It will be worse at home for some years, I know it surely, but later on perhaps it will get better, if our Lord God helps, because "It is better to be in a sheep-skin with God than in a fur-cloak without God," and "As Kuba behaves toward God, so God behaves toward Kuba."[2] I sold the oxen in the fall and I bought one cow. I intend to buy one more in order to have 4. I intend to sell one horse and to buy another, because this one is bad for plowing, and I intend to plow with horses. I will keep two cows for myself and sell the milk of the two others. I bought also 7 geese; I don't know how they will breed. I intend also to carry out my plan of building a house.

[1] This is the last, reasoned explanation of the original and unreasoned fact that the letter is not individual but familial property. In this fact is to be found the fundamental function of the peasant letter in general—retaining or re-establishing the connection of the individual with the family-group when this connection has been weakened by separation.

[2] The confidence in God as shown in the belief that God will interfere practically in human business is naturally more developed in isolated communities with little practical energy and a slow rate of life, and decreases near the industrial centers and in active and evolving communities. It is of interest that Walery, himself a very active person, still retains the attitude of religious fatalism perfectly adapted to the low intensity of the practical life of his environment but unadapted to his own character.

Edward is going this year to school in Łapy; I pay now for his learning 50 copecks monthly, but when I leave my position [as gardner of the governmental railway-station] probably they will demand more. Both my horses had the strangles, and now they look bad. The winter up to Christmas was light. Now, since New Year, the weather is colder; it is already possible to go on sledges. . . . . I don't remember whether I have written about building a church in Łapy. They intend to build first a chapel, and later on, when they have money, a church. . . . . In our mill we grind corn, father for himself and I for myself, when the one or the other has time. Now I send you a salutation from us, and the children salute you—Aleksandra, Waclawa, Edward, Józefa and Michał. We wish you every good. May God grant it.

W. Wróblewski

18 February 8, 1906

Dear Brothers Antoś and Kostuś: . . . . Now I inform you, that I will probably remain at my post, although I am not very glad because I don't know when I shall be able to do something for myself [build the house]. Every year I hope to do it and I cannot. Now also I was sure that I should remain at home, and a week ago I thanked for [resigned] my place. They gave me one day for reflection, and after this they were to say something to me. One day, then another, then a week passed and they said nothing. I was sure that they were trying to find somebody else. I was sure because last year it seemed as if they intended to change me, although when I thanked them they said that they were satisfied with me. After more than a week, when I went to the office for a ticket to go to Warsaw, the chief asked me whether I intended to remain or not. I said that I could remain on different conditions, but I did not hope to obtain them. I asked for some improvements in the service, and moreover for fuel. The chief said that he was willing to grant it. If so, I will remain, but I am not sure, because meanwhile it is only a promise; if they don't fulfil it, I will not serve.

Everything else is unchanged. Father still provides for himself at home. He has threshed all his grain, but he has not yet brought the hay from the riverside, and now it is impossible to get through to the riverside, and I don't know how it will be, because now we have successively two days of frost and three days of rain. But when

summer comes I don't know how we shall do. I don't know whether Feliks will come or not, and father probably won't be able to keep the farm alone. If Feliks does not come, I don't know what will result, because father does not promise to work any longer on the farm. Perhaps he will finally sell it, although he could take somebody to help him, because he has money enough, but he does not intend to do it. . . . . On my farm there is also nobody to work. I thought that I should do it myself, but now nothing is certain; on the other hand, I want very much this little money which I can earn. . . . . Now the church in Płonka has been robbed. . . . . The thief stole into the church in the evening, was shut in there, took the money and fled through the window. . . . . We have no weddings here, although it is carnival. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

19 April 2, 1906

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . We will divide with you in thought at least the consecrated food [święcone]. It is a pity that you will probably have no święcone, because you are surely far away from the church. Well, it cannot be helped; you will probably only remember our country and nothing more.[1] But perhaps our Lord God will allow you to return happily; then we shall rejoice. . . . .

As to the money, when I receive it I will do as you wrote; I will give 10 roubles to father and will keep by me the remaining 240, or I will put it somewhere until you come back. Meanwhile my children thank their uncle for the remembrance and the promise. Spring approaches, but although it is already April, weather is bad, it snows every day. Some people have seen storks already; they must be wretched, walking upon white [snow].[2] As I wrote, I have sold the oxen and bought a cow; I wanted also to buy another, but there has been no opportunity, because cows are bad and very dear. I have sold also the horse which you bought, for 62 roubles, and I have

[1] The Easter wishes, dividing the "święcone" with the thought of absent relatives, are evidently means of preserving the family connection in spite of separation, and in the particular form which this connection assumes in group-festivals.

[2] An example of the sympathy of the peasant with animals. The peasant stories show that this sympathy developed to a very high degree. Spontaneous to some degree, it is also a vestige of the naturalistic religious system.

bought another for 64 roubles. He is 4 years old, of the same color as the other; it would even be difficult to distinguish them, because the movement is also the same, only the other had white fetlocks on his hind legs, and this one is a little longer. I intend to plow with him and the two-year-old. Adam Drop from Pluśniaki promises to plow. I bought this horse in Skwarki in the neighborhood where Frania Perkoska, the daughter of Wojciech, is now with her husband. I don't know whether I have written you, she married Kleofas Gołaszewski. When you go from us to Sokoły, you have to turn near their barn, at the left, on the corner. . . . .[1] The wedding was in the last days of carnival and we were there at dinner. During the dinner I played on the phonograph of Józik; he lent me it for that time. He bought it in Warsaw and he has a score of different songs and marches.

Now I don't know whether I have written you about the misfortune from which only our Lord God kept our father. At the end of the carnival thieves came to steal horses, and father slept in the barn near the granary. He heard something tapping and got up and stepped out of the door. He saw something black under the wall and called, "Who is there?" The man shot with a revolver, but happily he missed. They ran. There were two of them. On the next day people found the bullet in the door. Father made a noise, and came to us and awoke us and other people, but they were not to be found. They went to Płonka, stole a horse and a wagon of grain and disappeared. So the misfortune ended. At present there are terrible thefts and robberies in our country. Highwaymen attack people on the roads and rob them, and in towns robbers come to houses, kill or threaten with revolvers, take whatever they can and usually disappear without any trace. And all this goes on since the strikes of the last year. Many factories stopped, workmen were turned out, and that is the cause of the present robberies.[2]

[1] This kind of detailed information reminding the absent member of the family of the environment in which the family lives has evidently the function of keeping up the old common "universe of discourse" and thus maintaining the familial connection.

[2] The real cause was evidently different. Although lack of work may have played a certain rôle in recruiting the bands of robbers, the fundamental reason was the disorganization of social and moral life brought by the new ideals, which for the mass of the people were not equivalent to the traditional social constraint in organizing practical life. (Cf. notes to Jasiński series, Nos. 757 ff.)

After the holidays brother Feliks is coming to the farm, but mainly because he has no church there and nowhere to teach the children. But I believe that it will be too difficult for him to work on a farm. Well, but he cannot remain there either, because of what I have said.

Now I inform you that in our holy Roman Catholic faith a new sect, heresy or falling-off has arisen, and the priests themselves produce it. The papers write that there are 50 to 70 such priests who call themselves "Maryawitas," and the people have nicknamed them "Mankietniks." They regard some girl, a "tertiary," as a saint, She dictates to them her different visions, and they believe her; they won't listen to their bishops, and they proclaim a doctrine about her—that she was immaculately conceived. They have drawn some parishes to their side; people believe their erroneous teaching. This happens in the neighborhood of Płock, on the other side of Warsaw from us. Those priests say three masses every day. The bishop sent priests to close and seal these churches, but the Maryawitas beat the true priests and did not allow them to close [the churches]. All this is going on at present. It is a she-devil, as a bishop writes, a certain Felicia Kozłowska, seamstress of priest-clothes, and therefore it is clear that young priests favor her. It is a horror to read in papers what is going on there; perhaps the end of the world is not far away.[1]

I wrote you what I could about our country, although in short, for if I wanted to write in detail, I should need many sheets of paper. Now, please, write us about the mines. How are the passages to them made under the earth? Are there any props? What happens when coal is dug out—whether they [the passages] fall in or stand? In short, whatever may be new for us. . . . .[2]

W. Wróblewski

[1] The sect of the "Maryawitas" represented the first heresy in which the peasants had taken part for centuries. We shall have more details of this in Vol. IV. The "end of the world" is assumed whenever any great and general demoralization is noticed. It is of course dependent upon the eschatological Christian ideas.

[2] Here, as in many other similar questions, it seems as if the interest of the writer were purely objective, i.e., not determined by the fact that the conditions about which he asks are those in which his relatives live. But the *effect* is evidently the constitution of a new common field of intellectual life and thus the maintenance of the group-connection, whether this was the conscious aim or not.

20 April 25, 1906

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I have remained in service. Here we have full spring; people sow in the field oats, peas and potatoes, trees blossom, storks, swallows and other birds have come back. I am waiting now for brother Feliks. He has already thanked for [resigned] his place and is waiting only for his pay and tickets for the journey. They will come very soon. Father looks for help every day. Now I send you some photographs made [by myself] at Easter. [Description of the photographs.] We know from the papers that a terrible misfortune has happened in California, in the city San Francisco. May God keep us and you from this! [Salutations.]

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

21 May 12, 1906

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I don't wonder that you wrote so [being ill], but I don't know why Kostuś . . . . presented me to you in such a manner, as if I had done some mischief to him. He ought to understand that you, being sick, could not bear all this; in other conditions [you would look upon it] as a trifle. But in human life the road is not always strewn with flowers; there are many different thorns upon it.[1]

Now you know, probably, that I remain at home on my farm. Work is going on in the field, we are planting potatoes, and when we finish planting, we will set to building the house. I cannot buy that field from Tomasz Pal. After a long reflection he said finally, that he would sell it, but only if I gave him 150 roubles for the field near the garden. I offered him 80 roubles, but he does not agree. Later I heard from his servant that he would part with it for 100 roubles, but I am not in a hurry, because it would be too expensive. I could pay so much only if I had as much money as he has.

Now I inform you that Jan Głuchy came back from America and intends to build his house in the garden near Staś. Before he came back, his wife wanted to build some sort of shack, but Filuś did not want to give her a lot. He proposed the lot near my garden. . . . . but it was too small for her. She was set on having father sell her an [adjacent] bed, but I did not wish to have such a neighbor so near and

[1] Allusion to some incidents which we cannot determine, as we have only the letters written to Antoni, not those to Kostuś.

I asked father not to sell; I was ready to pay it myself. But father has planted it himself. Later Filuś proposed to give her the lot near the pond, but this was also too small for her, because there also she would be my neighbor. At last, after much begging, he gave them the lot near Staś Łaba, and there they will build their house. Now, as people say, they hang dogs upon me [abuse me], especially Filuś, because Jan got the best of it in getting that lot.[1]

Now as to the marriage of Józef, our brother. I went with Olcia to the wedding, and after dinner I returned home. It was a week before the end of the carnival. Now, as I wrote already, he lives with his wife in the house of Staś Gembiak, and our father took a small boy from Kozły and is still farming himself. Józef is planting potatoes for himself upon a part of father's land. I have now a dispute with Feliks Gembiak; he crawled into my garden behind my house and plowed the part of the garden up to the fence. I will write you later how this ends.

Spring is late this year, trees blossom only now, and last year they blossomed at St. Wojciech [St. Adalbert's day]. Now I have nothing more of interest to write, only I inform you, that our Michałek began to walk on the first day of Easter, and he says that Little God ordered him to walk, because He rose from the dead. Now he walks well enough, and he would like to walk the whole day in the yard. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

22 June 30, 1906

. . . . Dear Brothers: . . . . First I inform you, that here in Płonka the basement for the new church has been made already; in a week, on Sunday, the consecration of the headstone will be celebrated. Now everybody is bringing offerings, whatever he can. If it is not very difficult for you, I beg you to send a little money. The priest proclaims every Sunday who gave and what the offering was.[2] In Łapy divine service is celebrated in the chapel as in every church. They will also build a church.

[1] Most of the quarrels of neighbors are the result of the system according to which all the old villages are built, and which makes any increase of the area occupied by the single farm-yard impossible except by buying from a neighbor an adjacent lot behind the yard. (Cf. Nos. 26, 39, 40.)

[2] It is a question of family pride. By sending an offering the brothers in America would prove that they still consider themselves members of the family and community and at the same time that they are in good circumstances.

Now, on Corpus Christi day in Białystok there was a pogrom of the Jews. Two processions walked around the city, one ours, the other [Greek] orthodox. Some persons began to fire from a house with revolvers on the orthodox procession.[1] Panic arose among the people, but it is said that nobody was killed by these shots. The army was called and fired at the windows; whoever looked at the street [was shot at]. Other robbers rushed to Jewish shops; they broke and stole whatever they could and killed Jews. About 600 Jews were killed and many wounded. Along some streets all the shops were ruined. Next day in Łapy local vagabonds destroyed a few shops, but they are sitting now in prison. The Jews fled wherever they could, and so it ended. Now we have a state of war; the army is stationed everywhere.

Yesterday we had a storm with lightning; rain poured down, and the hay is upon marshes. People began to mow grass although water stood upon the meadows, but now the hay will float. In the river water is also high, and it is impossible to mow. Probably there will be no hay this year, but in the fields everything is growing beautifully. In a week, if we have fine weather, people will begin to harvest rye. This year the spring has been warm, and the harvest will be early. I intend to go to Częstochowa [on a pilgrimage] with my wife and Edward about this time, but I don't know how soon the tickets will come. . . . .

Now I inform you how farming is going on at home. Well, it turns out that Feliks cannot get along with the old people. Although he *does* work, he plows and carts manure, in short, he does everything necessary in farming, yet under the management of the old man it is impossible to work. He must dress himself and his children, and live, but the old man does not give any money; he keeps everything himself. He does not even give possible food. He wants to drive them away in this way the soonest possible, and that will probably happen very soon, and the old man will again sell [parts of his land] and gratify himself and the old woman. It will be enough for them both [the land will last as long as they last]. And now the quarreling is incessant. "Why did they come?" But he wanted them to come, because he said, "I sell the ground because there is nobody to work."

[1] It is known that these shots were a provocation from Russian hooligans, preparatory to the *pogrom*. They were directed at the Russian procession in order to assure the sympathy or at least the passivity of the Russian authorities.

And now, "Do as you please and get your living where you please!" So Feliks will be obliged to seek a job, and father will farm on in the old way, until there will not be a single lot of land left. If he lives long, then finally a bag and a stick only will remain from this farming, and that will be our only inheritance, because there is no possibility of getting along with father. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

23 July 5, 1906

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I mentioned about brother Feliks, how they are farming at home. Now I will write you still more. As I wrote already, father gave him the farm to manage, but this lasted perhaps for two days; then father took it again into his hands. And then began the misery and quarreling. Feliks complains that he was wronged, that he lost his employment, and now father gives him nothing. He was angry with me, because I wrote him that father intended to give him [the management of the farm] and now he does not give it, or rather he gave it, but took it away. I began also to claim for their sake, that father was acting badly—first so, then otherwise. Then father said, "If it is my fault, I will will them Kopciowizna [some part of the farm]. Let them work and help me to the end, then they will have this as a reward." I did not oppose this strongly, only I said that I could not decide alone, but that I must write to you and ask what you say, and meanwhile wait. So I wrote, but I have no answer yet, and they did not wait. At home they quarrel continually; Feliks complains about his misery, that he has enough work but not enough to eat—that father gives them nothing to eat. Feliksowa [wife of Feliks] comes to me several times a day, and every time with a new complaint. Things went so far that Feliks and father took knives and axes. And she runs frequently to me, saying once that father wants to beat them, then again that he wants to drive them away from his home with hunger. Evidently, I did not praise father for all this. But whatever I said against father, Feliksowa reported it so to father that I [seem to] incite her against him, and she complained to father against me. At last all their knavery and meanness appeared clearly. . . . . When brother Józef came, he told me that when they quarreled with father, father gave the whole secret up and confessed it himself. He said, "I wronged the other [children] and willed you Kopciowizna, and this is

your gratitude?"[1] Up to this time all was done secretly; we did not know anything about it, neither I nor Józef. Then I understood the whole thing in a different way, and I told Feliks everything about their meanness. I brought their anger upon me; they were provoked with me for telling them, "You have robbed us all, because you have done it secretly."[2] He said that father had forbidden them to tell. They circumvented father in some way during the fair in Sokoły, and father willed [the land] to them in such a way, that now he will own this up to his death, and after his death it will be theirs, as a gift from father, the remainder of the farm to be divided equally. After that they quit boarding with father and yesterday they moved over to Józef Pilat, and live there. What happens later I will inform you in due time. I hear that they plan a law-suit against father and me for indemnity for their pretended wrongs. They will try to prove by my letter that I wrote them to come, that father intended to give them the farm to manage, and now he refuses, that he gave it, but took it away, etc., and so they are wronged. But I wrote him, "If you have to come, reflect well about it." He answered, "I must move to my country because of my children." Well, and he came, making a good move! I told him that he can now lie lazy for two years, since he has already [in the bequest] earned his full wages; he need not search for an employment. . . . . Please write us your opinion about this affair. Perhaps this letter will find itself among the documents of Feliks? [Perhaps you will concert with Feliks against me and send him this letter.] But I don't believe it.

I remain respectfully yours, but writing always the truth

W. Wróblewski

24 July 27, 1906

Dear Brother: . . . . On July 23—a day which will remain forever memorable for us—I was with my wife and Edward in Częstochowa. It is worth seeing. I don't know whether I shall have such

[1] This act of the old man was evidently done with the intention of assuring himself of the alliance of at least one son against the others and of getting rid of his control without making him an enemy. It proves that the old man did not feel his position very strong morally, although he had legally full right to do as he pleased with his farm.

[2] The secrecy is particularly bad, because to the economic wrong is added a social wrong—destruction of the familial solidarity.

an opportunity again; it was the first time, and probably also the last, for it is far enough from us. But it would be worth seeing once more. Well, it will be as it pleases our Lord God, whether He will grant us the opportunity to be in a locality so renowned by its miracles, or not. Thanks be to God that we visited it at least once in our life.

Now I inform you about Jan Głuchy. He is in New York and sends money for his wife. Not long ago he sent to my address 210 roubles; I received it for her. Smaller sums he sends directly to her, and wants to send everything through me, but I don't wish to have trouble about other people's money. . . . .[1] Now I send you one photograph, although a bad one, of the church of Płonka, taken on the day of the consecration of the basement. . . . . On the same day a new cemetery was consecrated. [Description of the cemetery.] Now I inform you that we have already harvested the rye. The weather now is good, dry, even too dry. Only now we have begun to mow summer grain and hay. . . . . The crops are mediocre, the potatoes won't be so good as last year. . . . .

Now I inform you about home and the conflict with Feliks. If you received my letter, you know already how it was about the willing of Kopciowizna—how they did it secretly with father, then how they quarreled with father, how he moved to the house of Józef Pilat. Now she remains here with her children, and he went to the old place in search of employment. He does not write me anything, because we are angry with each other. I told him that such things ought not to be done by cunning, but that he could have done all this so that everybody might know. He excuses himself, on the ground that father forbade him to mention anything to us about his having willed [the land] to them. But even now I don't know whether there is in this will any mention about the mill; probably not, and then I must move it away from that lot. Father is farming as he did formerly; he hires harvesters and drives the crops from the field, but I don't know how long this will last. When the old man goes to bed I don't know how he will do the farming. Feliks has received his part already, and if the old man does not change it, he will still receive an equal part with us. What ought we to do? I ask you beforehand, how are we

[1] Głuchy evidently distrusts the ability of his wife to manage the money. In such cases the man in America attempts to exert a control over the wife through the medium of relatives and friends.

to act? In my opinion he ought to have only this lot and nothing more, and father ought to divide the remainder among us. Judge yourself. . . . .

W. W.

25 August 27, 1906

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . Józef told me that he also received a letter from you. Whether he answered I don't know, but he says that he is unwilling to go to America, because he has it here well enough. Now you ask me for advice, whether you ought to remain in the mines, or to return home, or to search for other work in America. Well I leave the decision with you, but in my opinion it would be dangerous to throw your work away just now, but rather [I advise you] to search first for other work in America and then to come back about spring, or to remain where you are meanwhile and then to come back. But don't take my advice. Whatever you do will be well, because I fear it may be as with Feluś, though I don't believe that you could be so mean as he.[1] He curses me now ceaselessly for his own meanness. I wrote to him also: "If you are to come, first think it over thoroughly lest you regret it later." (And he [answered]: "I must move to my country for my children's sake.") And what has resulted? He robbed us all, and he continually slanders me and father. The old man is somewhat guilty in not having given him what he promised; but he rewarded him, even more than is right, in the will. And what does he want from me? I have heard that he abuses me also in the letters which he writes to her [his wife], saying that he suffers misery by my fault. And why does he abuse me? Because I said the truth openly, that it is unfair to act in such a thievish manner; everybody ought to know what you intend to do. This pricked him, my telling him his fault to his eyes. But even if father gave him the whole fortune, still he would not get on so well as he did there. But whose fault is it? Did he not know farm-work? He ought to have known what work there is on a farm and what a life, and if he risked it he ought not to slander others now without any

[1] The responsibility of an adviser for the consequences of his advice is particularly great when the personal influence of the adviser is great, because, as we have pointed out (Introduction: "Theoretic and Esthetic Interests"), the peasant gives to the advice a consideration proportionate to the prestige of the adviser rather than the intrinsic value of the advice. In the present case the advice of Walery is the more weighty because he is the oldest brother.

cause. I loved him like all my brothers, but now I hate him for his action, for such meanness; even a stranger would not do this, and he is a brother. Well, enough of this, let him bark what he pleases. But now, dear brother, I am even afraid to write my opinion. It seems to me that it would be the best to do as I wrote you above, because it seems to me that even if you had much money, but if the earth were to cover you, you would rather prefer to look once more upon your native country, even without a penny. And if you had some money in your pocket it would be still better.

Now I inform you that summer has been dry this year. I walk with Edward through the marsh in shoes, to fetch horses from the pasture; the water has dried up everywhere. Edward rides also on the young horse; he drives him home. Now he will soon begin to go to school again in Łapy. I send you herewith their photograph. As you see they have all grown pretty well, only Michalek, your foster-son, is not there. He does not walk; he is somewhat ill; but perhaps he will get better.

The crops are mediocre this year; on the Transfiguration of Our Lord there was no more summer-grain in the fields; everything had been harvested, because the weather was favorable. We are already digging potatoes. They are not so bad for such a dry season. In some places they even grew big. Yesterday Wacława with Edward dug a whole wagon-load from the small ravine near father's enclosure. Wacława tended geese during the summer, but there were not many of them. The 6 geese brought 23 young ones, for which we got 23 roubles, and besides some worse ones walk about, which did not grow big enough. It would be well to make a road now to the pasture fields, because it is dry; but in our village people don't unite. Nobody went to make it. I worked alone for some mornings, making the beginning, but I was the only one so stupid; all the others are so clever, and nobody goes to work, although it is difficult to get a better time. Why, laziness, stupidity and darkness will never make anything good!

Now, since the Japanese war, there is much news in the country, but I won't relate it here, because whole newspapers would be necessary to describe all that is going on here. If you read papers, surely you know. You ought to subscribe at least to Gazeta Świąteczna, for now all the papers write more truth, because they are published without censure.

Up to the present father is farming alone, and I don't hear him complain that it is hard to work. He plows, he carts manure, and the work goes on. But how long will this last?

Last Sunday in Sokoły the basement of the new church was consecrated and I was there with my children. On the same day I photographed them in my house, or rather before my house. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

26 October 29, 1906

Dear Brother: . . . . I received your second letter also, from which I learned about your misfortune, the bruising of your arms.

Now I inform you first, that I intend to remain at home this year, unless any unforeseen circumstances happen. I do nothing but plan about my house. I bought this year more than 5 kop [5×60] flower-pots for my garden. As to the field from Tomaszek, I have not bought it yet. Although I am somewhat short of money, the thing could be done in some way or other, if he wanted to sell it. But what can I do? Last year I went often expressly to him, asking him to sell it, but he declined under some pretext or other. He is willing to exchange, but I have nowhere [to give him a corresponding lot]. If I could only buy somewhere for him; but nobody wants to sell. And it would be very useful to me [to have this lot] near the garden, because Łapy is growing continuously. Now we have a chapel in Łapy, I send you its photograph. They are building now a small tower upon it. It is very convenient now with the churches. One can go where one wishes, either to Łapy or to Płonka; it is near in both directions. When returning from my work I enter the chapel to say the rosary, because now in the evening rosary-service is celebrated by candle-light, and this looks very pretty.

Now I inform you that Roch came home some weeks ago. I have not spoken with him yet, but people say that he was captured when crossing the frontier and was sent home by etapes [with criminals]. Now, as to the horse, father sold it in the summer for 60 roubles, and today perhaps he will buy something in Suraz, if horses are not too expensive, because there is a small fair today. Feliksowa has left again and went there to him [Feliks], having sold her things to Józef Pilat. She sold the cow also which father gave them, because she lived in Pilat's house. She went like a swine, because she called neither on me nor on father before leaving for those forests. That is

just where she ought to live, with bears, not with men. She was something of an ape before, and there she became altogether an ape. No honest person would have done as they did. Whose fault is it? And how much they have cursed me, and father! May God not punish them for it. They think only about a fortune and money and don't want anything else; they don't regard church-going and fasting, if only they can live comfortably in this world.[1]

Now, as to Michałek, he is already better and begins to walk by himself. Edward has been sick recently with small-pox. Now he is getting better slowly. . . . . We had a dry summer, and the autumn is also dry. There is lack of water in the wells, and the cold is not far away. If it goes on like this we shall have no water in the winter.

Now in our country disorders still go on, sometimes robberies, sometimes killing with bombs or revolvers. Not long ago there was a pogrom in Siedlce, where the army even fired with guns for 3 days, as the papers write. Now we have a state of war; the general governor of Warsaw proclaimed that whoever does not come at the call to military service, his parents will be condemned for 3 months to prison or 300 roubles fine, and the head-minister added that in localities where the state of war exists whoever does not come is subject to court-martial. And what a court-martial is you know probably, and I won't describe it. . . . .

It would be well if Kostuś thought sometimes about his native country and wrote something, at least about his health and success. Roch brought the news that he is married. Perhaps on that account he has changed and does not write.[2]

[W. Wróblewski]

27 February 24, 1907

. . . . Dear Brother: I learned about the misfortune which happened to you. . . . . This news dismayed us all very much, and we are very sad that such a misfortune happened to you. I got also a letter from Kostuś today . . . . and I learned that you are somewhat

[1] Typical expression of the peasant's idealism, which is always latent in all the practical attitudes. There is a marked difference in this respect between a peasant like Walery and a handworker like Władek. For the character of the latter, see Vol. III.

[2] There is a proverb, "Whoever gets married gets changed," which is justified in the sense that the individual is determined to a large extent by his family-group, and by marrying he comes under the influence of an additional group.

better, and I learned also from him that a little miner came to him; only, please, let him send us a photograph of his family. I received also your other letter of February 4, in which you tell about your misfortune and write that I caused you a great displeasure by my letter—that I gave you the last blow.[1] Believe me, if I had known that it would reach you when you were in such a condition, I would have chosen not to mention anything, but who could have expected anything like this? . . . . If I made some reproaches, your own letter induced me to do it. You wrote that you keep company in which you cannot get along for a single day without beer or whisky. Then I wanted to draw you back from it, and therefore I made some remarks —that this money would be useful here, and for whom [it would be useful].[2] I had also had no idea, that you had any difficulties in sending money. I know only this, that if somebody has money and wants to send it, and has anybody to whom he may send it, he does send it, and does not write that it is difficult, unless he has none. But what happened between us is quite ridiculous. Well, never mind, let it be as you do it. Today, in your present condition, I don't want anything from you. But you were wrong in writing that you did not take any property with you.[3] I have none either, and it is possible that nobody among us will have any. I don't get any benefit out of it. If I want a bushel of corn, and if I take it from father, I pay him like any other neighbor. And what can yet happen with father's farm, nobody knows. As I said, it is possible that no one among us will get anything. . . . . We might perhaps be able to prevent it, but we should think about it all together, because it is high time. . . . . I cannot prevent it alone, and perhaps you would not like it; so it is necessary to deliberate as soon as we can about father and the farm.

Now, as to Józef, he got married during last carnival. He does not want to live with father, but he rented a lodging in the new house of Staś Gembiak, where he moved with his wife. He is serving as before. I have left my employment already, and since the first day of Lent I am home and will think about building my house. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

[1] The letter referred to is lacking.

[2] Walery probably asked for the payment of some money which Antoni owed him. Cf. No. 29.

[3] Wrong because it looked like a hint that Walery was profiting from the common family property.

28 August 15, 1907

. . . . Dear Brother: [Greetings. News about crops.] Now I inform you . . . . that there is news. On August 7, after the Transfiguration of Our Lord, grandmother, or rather our stepmother, died. She had put aside some money, but had given it to the priests for the building of the church,[1] and different rags [dresses, etc.] which remained were stolen by her family even before her death, so that when she died there was not a single rag left; everything was empty. Even a hen disappeared during the funeral. Father asked a priest to come to lead the burial-procession, but without a speech, and so it was decided. But Mrs. Malinowska [some relative of the dead] did not like it and she requested the priest to thank [the dead] before the grave. Evidently she had some reasons to thank; the dead must have been good to her. Now we don't know how father will act; perhaps he will get married even for the third time. It would be very undesirable for us, perhaps even a great calamity. But what can be done, since father does not say anything about the future. He could very well live with me and Józef, or divide the farm between us, and we would give him his living. We don't know how it will be. But if he gets married once more, we are totally lost. I ask your advice, how to prevent it?

Now, as to the building of my house, probably this year only the basement will be ready. I have no time to carry the building further, because I have enough to do alone on my farm. I lacked stones and I paid 8 roubles for half a cube which they brought me. There will not be enough lime, and other material will be needed. Meanwhile my money is almost out and my geese have died, and my pigs also. In short, it is going on very badly. Moreover, I have been already 3 times in Markowszczyzna to fetch bricks for the church, and that is not the end of it. And I have still other work to do. Now, some boys from Kozły, who are in America, sent 110 roubles for the building of the church. The priest announced their names. Some lady from

[1] Walery is evidently provoked that she gave her money to the church and her clothes to her own family, so that nothing was left for her husband's family. The money was given by her to the church in order to assure her soul's salvation. In this respect the peasant women show the most profound and reckless egotism. We have met a woman who has about 2,000 roubles and is still earning as a cook. She has a widowed daughter with small children, but never helps her and says openly that all her money will eventually go to the church to secure masses for her soul.

Białystok sent also 100 roubles. In a word, offerings flow, but the parishioners are not in a hurry about bringing bricks, otherwise the church could be covered before winter.

Now I ask you, dear brother, how about your leg? Is there any hope that you will recover? How do you live there? Why does Kostuś never mention himself or us? Does he care no more for our father and for our country? He could perhaps remember once that he has a father and brothers. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

29 October 7, 1907

. . . . Now, as to that debt, please don't make yourself any trouble about it. Although it would now be useful to me, it is true, yet since you are in such a situation, you need it also. In the last necessity I can ask father to give me at least the interest, either in food-stuffs or in a field to sow, since he sells now and then piece after piece to strange people. But as yet I defend myself against poverty as best I can. Now as to my building, the work advances only since St. Michael. It would be very well to do it now, because the weather is favorable, but I must often stop and go to other work. Józef has helped me also more than once by preparing mortar. If the weather were good and the walls dried rapidly, the work would progress; and if there were somebody preparing mortar. . . . .

Now, I learned in Łapy that brother Feliks came here for some weeks, but he evidently does not want to show his eyes among us any more, because he went directly from Łapy by the Narew railway to Sokoły and thence to Jabłonowo. Somebody asked him there why he did not go to Ziencinki. He said there was nothing to go for. And he came for a church-festival with his whole family [to Jabłonowo]. That is nice, what he is doing! It is human to sin, but it is devilish not to repent and not to amend his faults. Because it is said, "If you want to offer a gift to God and you remember that your brother has anything against you, put your offering down near the altar and go and make peace with your brother," or in general with whomever it may be. But he forgot this for he does not want to see, not only his brother, but even his father. Perhaps he will yet change his mind, but I doubt it, because in his letters to Jabłonowo he wrote only curses against father and against me.

Now as to our father, you wrote that Kostuś advises him to come to America, where he could quietly spend the rest of his age with him.

This won't be. Although I have not spoken with father about it, I know that he would not go. And why should he? If he did not want to work himself on his farm, we could give him support but how can he part with his farm, leave the barn, etc.?[1] And Kostuś deserves praise for having taken care of you, but he might work himself in as dangerous a place, and if—God forbid!—any accident happened to him, with father in America, what then? It would be very unwise. And we could then give no effective help, because if we sent 10 roubles, you would receive there only 5, and moreover it is so difficult to get money here, while from America, when you send 5, we receive here 10, and that is a different thing. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

30 November 10, 1907

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . Now I inform you about my building. I have raised it up to the windows and I end here my work for this year, because winter is near, and there is yet plowing in the field to be done before winter, and some arrangements to be made around the house for winter. The autumn is clear and dry. . . . .

Now I pass to the news. I inform you that our dear father [ironical] got married for the third time. He took for wife that Klimusia, or rather Franciszkowa [widow of Franciszek] Pilat, that bitch, so to speak, because she came in order to rob us. Her children did not drive her away from their home, but she wants to profit out of our fortune. When father gave [money] for the banns, he did not mention anything to us, but did it secretly. When we heard the banns of our father, we went directly to him with Józef, and we tried to persuade him in different ways not to marry. But he refused to listen, he wanted only to marry. We tried also to persuade her not to marry our father. About this time somebody broke her windows on All Saints' Day, and she throws the suspicion upon me; she had the policeman come and drew up a verbal process, and there will be a law-suit. I will write you how this ends; but she has no witnesses to testify who broke her windows.[2] I also begged our priest to dissuade father from marrying her, but even this did not help, because the old man stubbornly stood upon marrying her. On Wednesday, November 6, the wedding was performed. We did not know anything about

[1] Ironical, meaning that he is too avaricious and egotistic to leave his property.

[2] Certainly the writer or his children did it.

it, but I saw the old man coming back from the church, and I guessed it. On the very next day we went with Józef to say good morning to the new couple and we greeted them so that it went to their heels [proverbial: They felt it deeply.]. The old man saw that he could not evade and promised to give us the small lots to cultivate, and to leave for himself the riverside and Uskowizna. So he got rid of us for this time, but "Promise is a child's toy"; we won't be satisfied with it, we will insist as strongly as we can that he do it black upon white [in writing], for us and for you also. We care not only about ourselves, but also about you, lest Klimusia get it. She is a cunning [avaricious] old woman, since she dared to go to marriage almost in the face of violence. I will tell you everything that happens. We want father to will us all, everything, and to keep to it, but we don't know how it will turn out. Of course, we except Feliks, because he has his part already. I wrote you that he was in Jabłonowo with his family and did not show his eyes among us. He was there for 4 days and went back, although I know that he had leave for 2 weeks. That is also a meanness. What is the matter with our family, that they keep things secret from one another, like thieves? . . . .[1]

W. Wróblewski

31 March 25, 1908

Dear Brothers: . . . . I did not write, as I was waiting for the news which I expected from our father. We have called upon him more than once, with Józef, asking him to make some division of the farm, but he got stubborn and refuses to do anything for us; only to his Klimusia he refuses nothing. We called upon him with the priest, then alone, then with people; nothing helps.[2] Once he took an ax to us and tried to frighten us; he jumped around wildly, like a madman. He gives us in words the field in Szalajdy to sow, but Józef refuses to take it without a [written] will. I intend myself to harvest what I have sown, but I don't know how it will be later. Józef

[1] Expression of the feeling that the family is disintegrating. "Keeping things secret" is clearly a proof that there is no real solidarity. In the primitive peasant family no member can have any secret from other members; there are no purely personal matters.

[2] Calling with the priest and with people proves that in the general opinion the father is morally wrong in his behavior, that he ought to occupy the familial, not the personal standpoint.

advises me not to do even this, but it seems to me that would be bad, for father will justify himself afterwards saying that he gave, but we would not take, and he will sell more readily. We also drove the Trusie [the stepmother's family] away from father's house, for they had settled their whole family already. Now at least they only call often. There would be much to write, whole newspapers would be necessary; in this letter the rest cannot be described. I spit upon all this, so to speak; if he is determined to waste all this, let him waste it; if his own children are not dear to him, only strange children, for everything there is free to strangers.

At the end of the carnival Józef Łaba got his daughter married to the son of Fortus from Łynki. We were not at the wedding, but father with his Klimusia was there, and he got so drunk that he lay under the hedge. The next day he invited perhaps half the people from Goździki, but we were left out. Although I never overlooked father [in my invitations], he always keeps away from us, as from enemies. Well, I end it, because I loathe all this.

[News about weather.] Now, a terrible thing happened. On March 23 in the village Somachy a score of robbers came in the evening to the Porowskis. They found the whole family at home. They attacked Porowski and killed him with a blow on the head and revolver-shots, they wounded and bound the other members of the family, they took all the money they could find and fled, nobody knows where. This terrible incident frightened everybody. The next day I drove lumber from the forest of Kruszewo . . . . and I saw [mourning] banners on the house of Porowski, and I learned about this accident after coming to Matyski. . . . .

I made window frames during the winter, and in the spring, if God grants health, we will set to work in the field and near the house. The walls of the house have been spoiled a little by the cold. Work approaches, and there is nobody to help. Although Michałek [3 years old] promises to help, still I don't believe in the efficiency of his help. I will tell you something more about him. Mother laid upon him the duty of helping the poor. He asked why she let him give a grosz to a beggar. She answered, "In order that he may pray our Lord God to let your foster-father in America recover."[1] Now he

[1] The beggar is a religious personality, and giving of alms a religious act. In tales most of the beggars are either personifications of God or of the saints, or good magicians—bearers of a beneficent divine power—or at least instruments of the

asks very often, "Has my foster-father recovered yet?" He is in good health, himself and Józefa as well. The latter can read a book pretty well already. Edward goes to school in Łapy. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

32 May 8, 1908

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: As always, I inform you also today first about our health, that we are all in good health, thanks to our Lord God the Highest, and we wish you the same. Only my wife is in rather bad health; for more than a year she has not been able to work much. She cannot eat much either; therefore she has no strength to work. She coughs incessantly and no medicine can help her much, neither doctor nor home-medicine. Probably it will end badly. [Remarks about letters received and sent.]

We have spring already. All the birds are here—larks, lapwings, storks, swallows, cuckoos, nightingales—in short, all of them. But

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divinity. The function of the beggar is to pray, and not only his prayer, but also almsgiving has a magical importance, compels the divinity. This religious character of beggary is shown also by the fact that beggars in towns stay around churches, that in the country the parish festivals are the meeting-dates and -places of beggars, that "miraculous" places like Częstochowa are the main centers of beggary. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that in these places and on these dates the largest crowds gather, but this does not explain it completely. The peasant gives alms more frequently to the beggar before the church than to the beggar upon the street; more frequently during a parish festival than on an ordinary day, more frequently in a miraculous locality than in an ordinary church. This is evidently because the religious character of the beggar, the value of his prayers and of his mediation before God and the saints, increase in proportion to the sacredness of the time and the place. The principle is exactly the same as that which determines the value of a mass. A mass said on Sunday is more valuable than one on a week day, during a parish festival more valuable than on an ordinary Sunday, in a miraculous locality more valuable than in an ordinary locality. Further, the religious character of the beggar is proved by the conditions required for the acknowledgment of his occupation. Only the old man or the cripple can be a proper beggar, not because of any consideration of social utility, but because more or less consciously these features are considered the marks by which God destined them to this function. The proof that no utilitarian reflections play here any rôle is, that women, though less able to work, do not enjoy so full an acknowledgment of their begging function as the men. The woman, indeed, can be a member of the congregation or a divinity (saint), but not a priest, an intermediary between both. The women beggars are, on the contrary, often the bearers of a mischievous, magical character—witches. The religious character of the beggar is perfectly expressed in the popular stories. (Cf. No. 261, note.)

the spring does not progress favorably. We have St. Stanislaus [day] today, and the trees are still black and don't think of blossoming. Some years ago the orchards had blossomed already at St. Wojciech. Cold wind blows from all sides. I wasted all the food from my barns in feeding my stock; everything is empty. There was no hay. Moreover water flooded the potatoes in early spring . . . . and afterward they froze in the barns. Everything goes on unfavorably. Now my fields are already sown and I expect soon to begin building . . . . but my capital is exhausted, I must now ask father [for the debt], because . . . . otherwise I can do nothing. If God helps me to move to the new house perhaps it will go on better, for now I can change nothing, because so many things are commenced. I could return even today to my old employment, but I cannot because of this building; . . . . and if I could keep a garden at home, I should have a good bargain; people come themselves from Łapy, if I only had something to sell. These few hot-beds—what do they amount to?

As to our father—our fortune runs out in different ways; one feels oppressed inside at seeing how the care of us all [what we have worked for] is wasted in vain. But what can be done, since there is nobody among us to look after this, strange people benefit now. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

33 June 29, 1908

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . My wife is unwell all the time, and I don't know whether she will recover. Although much money has been spent, no improvement can be seen. . . . .

Now I inform you that I got from father the money which I needed so much, but after much bargaining. When I mentioned it, he talked without end; he told me to bring a law-suit. At last he saw that he could not extricate himself by shifts and he paid it back. But what happened then? Instead of the 100 roubles he sold the riverside near Bociany to Roszkowski, from Ziencinki, for 300 roubles, because Marcinek [Roszkowski's son] came from America and brought money. That is the way it goes on with us. And he could have paid the debt without selling anything, for not long ago he got 100 roubles from Staś Łaba which the latter had borrowed from him. But this money surely fell into the claws of Klimusia. Finally, he could have borrowed, if he had no money, or by giving a mortgage on the meadow,

he would also have got 100 roubles; or he could have sold somewhere a lot for 100 roubles, but not so big a one for 300. Everybody says that the riverside is worth about 400. In this way our dear father gets rid of land and rids us of it at the same time. Józef went to remonstrate with father, for wasting the fortune so. They almost fought. Father jumped upon Józef with a yoke [for carrying buckets] and Józef took a pole. The old man brandished his yoke so that he broke the pole. At last Józef sprang forward and wrested the wood from him, and so they separated. I was not there at that time, but Józef came back and told how it was. The old man said that we are bad. "Why did I ask for the 100 roubles?" Does he think I am going to give him my work for the benefit of my enemies, that they may have more and live better? He does not give us his fortune, which justly belongs to us after him, and he wants us not to claim this [our own money] until he wastes everything and there is nothing left from which to recover [the debt]. He said that you had sent money as if for a joke [so little]. But I told him that it was lucky, for now our dear father would not care even if you were dying there from hunger. Why do other people not act in this way? What shall we do now? Perhaps it would be best to help him to finish it the soonest possible! Let there be no more of this grief and this sorrow! One cannot bear it, seeing how strange people profit from us and grow rich from the fruit of our labor. [Sends a photograph of the house which he is building and of his family; describes the photograph.]

W. Wróblewski and A. A. W. E. J. M.,

[initials of other members of the family] also Wróblewskis

34 November 22, 1908

Dear Brothers: . . . . First I inform you about the building of my house, that it is covered already with a roof, but inside there is still much to do; nothing yet is finished. [News about weather.] In the spring I intend to move the granary. . . . . The worst is that I have spent all my money; but if God grants us health, with some pains everything will be done. People praise my house; many have said already, that I have adorned all Ziencinki with it. . . . . The granary and barn must be moved, because it will be very inconvenient if they remain. There will be much work in moving them. Now I know how much work it costs to build a house and to do everything

with one's own hands, but perhaps our Lord God will yet help me to do this also [transfer the barn]. Now I don't know what to do with that unlucky mill. I cannot take it down alone without breaking it. I pay about 4 roubles taxes yearly for it, and I drive my grain to grind to strange mills, because it is not worth grinding in it—only loss of time and repairs. Father drew out long ago; he refuses to help in paying the tax and in repairing. If I found an amateur [one who wanted it] I would sell it, and if not, I must demolish it the best I can for it is impossible to pay so much and to have no benefit. At least there will be some fuel. It cost money enough, and there is no use from it. [Description of the last summer and autumn.] Now I inform you that Feluś Łaba is dead . . . . and his son has got married. . . . . Brother Józef received your letter about the accordeon, and certainly he will attend to it when he has money. . . . .

My wife is always the same, she cannot work at all. She does not lie down continually, but there is no help from her. It is a great damage for me. The girls do everything alone. Edward goes to school in Łapy. After this year he will have still two years to learn in order to finish the school. Józefa is learning already to read Russian. Michałek is at least in good health; he calls for bread as soon as he wakes. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

35 December 22, 1908

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I inform you that last Friday I received from the post-office in Łapy 80 roubles through a money-order in which there is no mention from whom it comes. . . . . Surely it is from you, and surely for the purchase about which you wrote in the previous letter. . . . . I will wait for word from you.

Now I inform you that my wife is already very ill; when you read this letter, dear brother, probably she will be no more among the living in this world, and if God grants you to come again to our country, dear brother, you will see your sister-in-law no more. We are sad, and we shall have sad Christmas holidays, although they will come in a few days. But nobody knows what will happen. Not long ago we brought the priest to her. There was no hope of her living up to the present. Like this candle which is burned almost to the end and is already going out, so is her life; it will soon go out, and we shall remain in deep sorrow.

As I wrote you already, I am now in a very bad situation. I have spent all my money and shall be obliged to borrow about 100 roubles when the funeral and the moving of the barns come.[1] So, dear brothers, perhaps you could do it for me, and lend me [this money]. I beg you, if you can. But probably it is difficult for you now. In that case I shall be obliged to ask for a loan in the communal bank. I should not like to let people know that I lack money, though I hope soon to get rid of this debt. But I must borrow somewhere now, because the moving of the barns cannot wait until I have cash. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

36 February 2, 1909

Dear Brothers: . . . . I received the letter in which you wrote how to use those 80 roubles and we acted according to it. Józef had a suit made for which he paid 32 roubles, but it will probably be somewhat difficult to send it. Probably somebody going to America will take it and send it to you. We gave for the holy mass which was celebrated on January 18 at which we were—I, Olcia and Józef. Now I thank you very much for that money which you sent to buy gifts for my children . . . . because it was very useful to us at that time. If God permits, we shall be able perhaps to prove our gratitude in some way. Meanwhile we remain indebted to you and we all thank you once more.

Now I inform you that my wife is still alive, although before Christmas we did not expect her to live through the holidays. And we don't know how long it will last; but she will never more have health. If we could only move from here to the new house [before she dies].

[1] This anticipation of the funeral expenses while his wife is still alive, and in general the calm foresight in speaking of her imminent death are not a proof of any coarseness of feeling. It is the normal, traditional attitude of the peasant toward death. Death is a perfectly *normal* phenomenon for the peasant, normal not only in the naturalistic, but in the sentimental sense. It has a perfectly established and predetermined social and religious meaning, so that the individual reaction toward it has a very narrow field of unexpected possibilities open within the range of the traditional attitudes. And the practical anticipation of death belongs precisely to the sphere of these traditional attitudes. Moreover, the practical side of life has nothing base in the peasant's eyes which would make a connection of death and money-affairs unsuitable. (Cf. Introduction: "Religious Attitudes," and note to Osiński series, No. 69.)

Spring will come, and during spring I have a great task to accomplish. I want to clear everything out of this place before the sowing-season, in order that nothing except the ground may be left here. I want to move the barns, to sell the house to somebody who will take it away, to transplant different shrubs which are good and to destroy these which are not good, and all this will require much work. The new house is not ready either; there are neither ceilings nor floors, and the middle-walls are also not quite ready. But if I can prepare at least one room for summer, we can move, and then before winter we shall finish the rest. . . . . And I have still threshing enough up to the end of the carnival. . . . . There will be much work and many expenses from now on. But if God allows us to win, then perhaps we shall be able to arrange everything better about the home, being rid at last of this detestable neighborhood, with this street and [adjacent] barns and everything, that I cannot enumerate here, but of which I have had enough. . . . . The winter is steady, cold and good sledge-road, but there are neither weddings nor visits, and probably there will be none, because the end of the carnival is approaching. And even if there were some, we could not amuse ourselves. [Meaning not clear: "It would not be suitable," or, "We should not be able."]

W. W.

37 March 21, 1909

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . First I inform you, dear brother Kostuś, that I received both your sad letters, for which I thank you. I went on Sunday to the post-office for the paper and I received the two letters at once and I knew by the writing that they were from you, and I had at once a bad foreboding. . . . . I was not mistaken for . . . . I found such terrible news about the breaking of the legs of Antoś. What misfortunes came one after the other! Evidently God is putting us to the test. For, as it is said, "Whom God loves, He gives him crosses, and who bears them meekly, becomes happy." And perhaps God punishes us for our sins or for the sins of other people? Still we must submit to the will of God, because it is said: "Oh Lord, here cut me, here burn me, but in eternity pardon me." And you know that our Lord God inflicted upon St. Job such a terrible calamity, that being rich he became a lazar, and yet he said: "The Lord gave, the Lord took away, blessed be His name." For what

have we of our own? Nothing. Fortune and health, everything is from our Lord God.[1] And the worst misery for man is if God takes the latter [health] away from him.

I have still another great sorrow besides our brother's misfortune. Hardly did our brother get out of one misery when another, one worse still, befell him. In the same way it goes on in my home. My wife has been ill for two years, and now since autumn she has not risen from her bed. She has dried up like a skeleton, and we look only for the time when she will close her eyes. Twice already we brought the priest with our Lord God, and we thought that she would be in the tomb long ago. But now there remains only a short time to live, we think a few days perhaps. Therefore I am very sad, and now from two sides. But what can I do? I owe money already to brother Antoni, and now I must contract a still greater debt for my needs, and if it is necessary, I must try to send him [money]. Write about this, for . . . . I am very badly off for money now, with this building and the sickness of my wife. Surely I shall have to bury her soon. . . . .

I am planning now to move the barns to where the new house stands. It will require work and workmen, because I cannot do it alone. And this makes me sorrowful, for I build everything as if upon ice, as people say, because what do I own here? Everything is my children's property. But it is difficult to do nothing. Perhaps [my reward will be] that I shall live my last years I don't know how and where [my children will perhaps drive me away], but I cannot leave them now and go somewhere else. [News about weather.]

W. Wróblewski

38 March 31, 1909

"Praised be Jesus Christus!"

Dear Brothers: "The world will rejoice, and you will weep," so said Christ our Lord to his disciples. And so it happened with me, because everything in the world rejoices at the coming of spring, and I remain in a heavy sorrow after the death of a person so dear to me.

[1] This is the only clear example in this series of a mystical subordination to the will of God. There are a few examples in other series, e.g., Cugowski series, No. 314.

On March 31 died Anna Wróblewska, born Gonsowska, having lived 46 years, after a long illness, provided with the holy sacraments.[1]

I send you today the sad news of the leaving of this world by my wife. I am still more grieved about the misfortune which befell you, brother.[2] God puts us indeed to a heavy test, but let us be true to him unto our death, and He will give us the crown of eternal life.

Dear brother Kostuś, write me as you can, what is the condition of Antoni, how is his health, whether there is a hope that he will live. And when he gets out of this misery, let him not grieve about his further life. Perhaps our Lord God will grant us that if we are in good health he will find some support with us. It is true that I am now left as if upon ice, ... because everything there is belongs to the children, but with the children I can live in some way, and if God grants them not to be bad, we could perhaps keep our brother also. Now, although we are in such a difficult situation, I begin the work of moving the barns. I will now end with my children what was before intended with my wife.[3] When we do this, with God's help, it will be perhaps somewhat better. We shall be able to do something with the garden and this will give us a better possibility of living.

Now I refer to our father, how well disposed he is toward us all. When my wife was sick neither he nor his Klimusia showed themselves, although the priest passed by twice with our Lord God. All the people from the village called upon us, but they did not call. And they did not come either for funeral and burial, although I asked [him]. That is a good father! He has disowned us, but he has renounced God also, because he would not come to honor Him in the

[1] The form of this announcement is evidently imitated. The first part reminds us of the beginning of a funeral speech, the second part is a typical official death notice. The man keeps in his whole correspondence about his wife's death within the strict limits of the socially sanctioned attitude, with sometimes a slight individual sentiment. (Cf. No. 35, note.)

[2] With the strong familial feeling of the Polish peasant, an attachment to brother or sister greater than that to husband or wife is not an exception. It would probably be much more frequent, were it not for the fact that marriage creates an active community of interests which strengthens the mere sentimental and sexual attachment. This explains the fact that whenever the husband or wife comes to live with the family of the other, i.e., when no separate household is constituted, his or her position is very difficult, because the old familial connection of the other remains stronger than the new marriage connection.

[3] This hint of a personal sentiment and one in No. 43 are the only ones made by Walery with reference to his wife.

most Holy Sacrament. He said that he did not know. But who can believe it? The whole village knew, he alone did not know. I told him that perhaps he saw at least the [mourning] banner when the wind waved it for almost two days. He muttered something, and so it ended. . . . .[1]

I cannot even send you wishes for the approaching merry holidays of our Lord's Resurrection, because I know that they will not be merry for either you or me. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

39 May 16, 1909

Dear Brothers: . . . . In the Green Holidays [Pentecost] we intend to move to the new house . . . . because here the house stands alone and on a bare place; everything is cleared away, the barns moved there; we live here still only until the chimney and stoves are built in the new house. . . . . Although there are no ceilings and floors we shall move, ... and finish the rest before winter. My farm buildings look very good now; I put both barns on the side of the road and between them I made a gate-way. . . . . The sties are on the edge of the field. . . . . If I have the opportunity to make a photograph of the house, I will send it to you. . . . . My brothers-in-law helped me for some days, only brother Józef could not make up his mind to come and help; . . . . he did not refuse, but before he came we had done everything. Now we shall have a dispute with Kazimierz Płaksa. He has here now too much and too little room at once, for he will have no way to drive behind the barns if I make a fence from the road-side. He bought a strip near us from Piotr Pilat for 70 roubles, in the hope that we shall cross it and then he will have the whole road, his own and ours, but I don't know whether I will cross it . . . . at any rate not at once. . . . .

W. Wróblewski

40 June 13, 1909

Dear Brothers: . . . . Now I inform you that I had some bad luck also. Before Pentecost I was invited by the priest in Płonka to plant flowers in his garden. I did not refuse, although I had enough

[1] This is a proof that the father in fact no longer considers himself a member of the family. For a relative not to assist at a funeral is unheard of.

work of my own. When I had finished the work the priest's coachman was going to Łapy to bring the priest's sister, and he took me home. Suddenly the mare ran away and . . . . overturned us with the carriage. I got a terrible blow upon my leg. Three weeks have passed . . . . and I cannot walk without pain. May God grant me to recover before the hay-harvest, or else it will be bad. . . . . We are living in the new house. . . . . Upon the old place there is nothing more, no trace left. . . . . I sold the house for 56 roubles and I gave them directly back, because I had borrowed exactly as much from brother-in-law Feliks for the funeral and for the moving of the buildings. Well, after long bargaining, I exchanged with Kazimierz Płaksa some land for the road. Though he barked enough he had to give what I wanted. He had said that the road would be his without anything, because it is common. Well, for this "common" road he had to give me the hillside opposite the old gate . . . . and I gave him my road up to his house. . . . . He had bought from Piotr Pilat a bed near my garden with the idea that I would cross it [with the road] and then he would have the road. He had paid 70 roubles for it—rather expensive. But I did not want it, because there are minors who have a part [in Pilat's property; therefore, the proposed combination was not to be considered quite secure]; let him rather keep what he bought. It looks ridiculous; he had bought it for me and I did not want it. I shall now have much to do still before I have everything in proper order, but people are already praising me and saying that I live as in a small manor. The house does not look bad and the barns look good also. The fruit trees have grown well enough; they blossomed this year; a few bee-hives—all this together looks pretty good. I send you a photograph of my house, although a very bad one. It is the front-wall, 3 windows in it; a fourth and fifth in the side-wall, near the door; before the door a sort of a veranda; upon the roof two vanes turned by the wind, in the other side-wall two windows and in the rear also two windows. Altogether 7 ordinary windows and 2 big ones near the door. . . . . [News about weather.]

W. W.

[Two letters, dated May 16, and June 13, relate the moving into the new house, the transfer of the barns, an exchange of land with Płaksa, minute description of new house, etc.]

41 September 29, 1909

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I received from you the letter for which I had waited so long, and I learned the curious news that brother Kostuś has bought such a big farm. This pleased me very much. I am almost carried away. Could I have such a fortune, or even the half of it! There are probably about 60 morgs, and I have 7, and these are in more than 40 places; and even with these 7 morgs I don't know how it will be, because Olcia can take half of them. People are already instigating her. If it happens so, I don't know what I shall do with the other children. And surely she won't be long with us, because people want to extort this small bit of land as soon as possible. Envy does not sleep. My late wife foresaw it and told me before her death that when I built the new house and everything looked better there would be terrible envy. And so it is. If she had lived, it would be only half a misery [not so bad], but now I don't know how it will be. To remain alone with the children would be bad. To go anywhere into the world would also be impossible. How could I leave these little ones alone? There will be nothing to farm upon; if it were at least as it is now, one could live along, though not without difficulty. (People have often talked of my marrying Olcia, that it is possible. I asked the priest about it. He told me that there have been such situations and people have asked for permission, but that it is not possible in any way. Although different difficulties about property have been exposed, it has been refused.) Here I stop [writing] about this.

Now I want to ask about this farm which Kostuś bought, in what country it lies, whether there is a town near it, whether there can be a good sale of agricultural products? Still I believe that if he found his way before and could gather money enough to buy such a farm, he surely will know how to manage further and pay the rest. And if the garden is in a good state and the town is not far away, it can give a good income. And also it is necessary to cultivate those plants which can be sold most easily.[1]

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

[1] The fact that Kostuś has bought a farm creates between the brothers a new community of interests and strengthens the familial connection. All the following letters are full of agricultural details, advice, information, experiments (mainly omitted here). In spite of the passage of time, the correspondence remains as animated as it was at the beginning of their separation.

[Two letters, November 14, 1909, and January 1, 1910, contain advice about farming and gardening. Writes that his house has been reproduced in Gazeta Świąteczna. Complains that he cannot get along alone with the children.]

42 February 22, 1910

DEAR BROTHERS: [Weather, early spring, larks and bees have appeared, farm-work.] Thanks to God, we have not so much trouble as last year. This has been a very hard year for us after the loss of a wife and mother. . . . .

Now you asked me, dear brother, to write about our father. I can say that, although we don't live far from each other, I don't know anything about him, for he never comes to us and we never go to him. Why should we go, since he has disowned us. He said that he did not want our tutorship, that he will get on pretty well. It is true that he gets on pretty well, because from time to time we hear that he has sold some gully or patch. He keeps Klimusia and her children; they are all there continually, so we have no reason to go there. It is sad. But what can be done? I am happy only when I don't remember him; then my heart does not pain me. But whenever I recall it all I am very sad. If he were a father loving his own children and not those of others surely we should all be better off now. It is all right when strange brats ["bachory," contemptful word for "children"] creep upon him from all sides like vermin, but he refused to live with his own children. I am not of his age today [it is natural for *old* people to live dependent on their children] but I live with my children upon their fortune, and still I don't weep. I commend myself to God's care and I live along. For me in my actual situation it is very bad that he did so, but may God's will be done. [Asks about the exact place of the brothers' farm upon the map, about the corn, vegetables, trees which grow there.] In our village and neighborhood a great deal is changed, it would seem strange to you now. And as to Feliks, I don't know for certain his address, because he does not write to us at all. . . . .

W. W.

43 March 8, 1910

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I thank you for your letter; I learned much from it about what grows there and how things are paid. I understood everything. Now I describe to you my farm-stock. I

have two horses, one 6 and the other 3 years old, two cows, both have calved now; for the milk which I send to Łapy I get 6 roubles monthly, ... for 2 calves I got $7\frac{1}{2}$ roubles, ... I have 2 old sheep and 3 young ones, 2 pigs, 4 hens, a dog and a pair of turtle-doves, and that is all my farm-stock. [Describes prices, probable crops, farm-work, weather, new churches in Łapy and Płonka.]

Now there are many changes in our village; Józef Łaba built a new house, Bolesław a new one, Staś Gembiak a new one, Roch a new one, Jan Głuchy a new one. Głuchy has gone now for the third time to America, and Roch is in America again. I moved to the new place. Where it was there is nothing, and where there was nothing, there it is. Now I have it nice and comfortable, everybody says that it looks like a manor, only it is a pity that mine [my wife] is not there and that I still have a few roubles of debt. But the latter would be a trifle if she lived. Now there can be a bad misfortune for me with the children, especially with such a difference of age. Now all of them would like to learn, but there is nobody to work for them. . . . . [Advises them to keep bees; sends wishes for Easter.]

W. Wróblewski

44 April 23, 1910

. . . . Dear Brothers: . . . . I received your letter with the picture-patterns for [Easter] eggs, for which we thank you; we have no such yet. America is always the first to invent anything. [Weather, farm-work, crops.] The seeds called "pop-corn" which you sent me sprang up, but the cotton has not yet come up, though it was sown long ago.

Now I inform you more about my condition. In the introduction I wrote that we are in good health, but not all of us, for Olcia coughs too much since carnival.[1] She does different things but all this does not help. I went with her to a doctor, he gave a medicine and advises her to work in the fresh air. He said to me, "May it not be with her as with her mother!" He says that her left lung is weak. Now there is almost no work from her, she stops to rest every moment. At home lack and disorder are growing. I don't know what will come of it. There is work enough for women at home, and there is nobody

[1] An instance of the purely formal nature of the introductory news about health, prosperity, etc.

to work; everything is torn and worn, and there is nobody to make anything. I hope I may be not obliged to look for some woman [as wife], for I am not very willing to do it.[1] As long as this one was in good health, we were going on more or less, although with difficulty; but now it is indeed a misery; there is nobody either to govern or to work at home. I give directions and leave the house; when I come back, nothing is done. The one cannot, the other [the boy] is too lazy. They are quarreling continually. [Sends vegetable seeds to be tried in America.]

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

45 May 1, 1910

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I thank you for your letter. Now it is somewhat clearer to me about America. I learned much from your letters, what grows there, what are the prices, and in what locality you are settled. [Weather, crops, prices, farm-work.] We have this year enough to eat and work enough, but too little money. Thanks to God, at least I am gradually getting rid of my debts. It is bad that at home there is nobody to keep the house. Too much trouble for me.

[1] It would be interesting to know why he does not wish to remarry. He is certainly not deterred by the remembrance of his first wife, as such sentiments are absolutely strange to the peasant's traditional attitude. There are only two possible reasons—his attachment to Olcia, or his unwillingness to introduce an incalculable element of change into his life. But the latter supposition is less probable, because he does not hesitate to marry after Olcia's death, and because, as far as we see, there is no example of any fear of remarriage among peasants. His attachment to Olcia does not express itself openly, because of the unlawfulness of such a feeling. Still, it can be inferred. He mentions that Olcia sometimes accompanied him to entertainments, ceremonies, fairs, etc., and he had the idea of marrying her. Even if this idea was mainly determined by economic considerations, the sentimental and sexual elements were hardly absolutely lacking; these are almost always present in peasant marriages, even in men of a rather low level of intellectual and moral development, while Walery is certainly a peasant a little above the average. Finally, even if the love-element was originally absent, this idea of marrying Olcia made the man look upon her in a new way, as upon a woman, and some degree of love must have developed, particularly if we remember what an influence the conscious idea and its expression in words have upon the feelings of the peasant.

Some indications can be found also in letter 48. Walery writes there of Olcia's death in a much more informal personal way than that of the death of his wife. He mentions also that Olcia wished to will to him her part of the inheritance, but this may have been caused only by the usual familial attachment. At any rate, it is probable that his feeling for Olcia was only half-conscious.

But what else can be done? If mine [my wife] were living everything would be well, and so even all this rejoices me not much, although the farm is in a better order and the buildings nice. . . . .

Now I mention what you wrote about the comet of Halley. Among us people also know it, and different wicked speculators spread various rumors. There is nothing true in it. Our editor of Gazeta Świąteczna explains, that there is nothing to be feared from it, because the moon moves 50,000 miles from the earth and the one does no harm to the other; what damage then can the one bring to the other when the comet of Halley moves 3,000,000 miles away from the earth? I don't know where it is now; in March after sunset we saw it above the western sky, but now we don't see it any more. Perhaps you see it in America? . . . . Now what you wrote about the sun, if we live next year I will do so here at the appointed time, and so we shall learn who of us is nearer the equator. You had a very good idea, but now it cannot be done, for during this time the sun has turned much off from the earth, or rather the earth from the sun, and a second trial ought to be made.[1]

Now as to the machines which you bought and which are so expensive—don't they know scythes and sickles there? With these tools you can do much during the summer. But you ought not to lose hope, even if one year disappoints you; perhaps the next year will be better. One always works more willingly upon his own [land] and has more pleasure in everything and particularly it makes a difference in old age; you can live more easily to the end on your own [land] . . . . .

W. Wróblewski

[Letter of June 19, entirely filled with questions of agriculture at home and in America; one of August 5, with news of the visit of bishop, confirmation of Edward and Józefa, arrest and imprisonment of brother Józef, by mistake; one of December 1, filled again with news and advice about farming and gardening.]

46 January 8, 1911

Dear Brothers: [Usual beginning.] The holidays passed, we decorated the [Christmas] pine-tree and the children had great joy. [Difficult to bring in the hay.] Now I answer your questions. The

[1] Their idea is probably to measure the length of a shadow. It does not occur to them to consult a map, because of the total lack of any tradition about the use of books of reference. When information was needed it was always sought either by asking someone or, whenever possible, by observation and experiment.

village-elder is Kazimierz Płaksa; he is ending his third year. The shop in Łapy under the name "Consumers Association in Łapy" exists, but the income scarcely covers the expenses. It would prosper pretty well, if it were not for our darkness [lack of instruction]. What can be done, if people prefer to go to the Jews? They are afraid of making the Jews angry. Perkowski Roman opened a shop in his house also . . . . and it is not going badly. In the autumn I gave him a pumpkin for his shop which weighed more than 2 poods, and upon which was written: "Village-gardener W. W."

Now as to the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland, it will probably be no sooner than pears grow upon a willow [Proverb]. [News about farm-work, crops, prices.] If it were always so [as this year], it would be only half a misery, but I don't know how it will be in the future with this farm. Perhaps it will soon fall into pieces, and then neither here nor elsewhere. I like to work, but only if there is something to work upon. I think that for you it is also agreeable to work upon a farm, and the more so upon such a farm. If our Lord God helps you to pay [the mortgage], it is the most sure piece of bread. . . . . If I had so much of my own land I believe that I should feel fine, but I commend myself to the will of God. . . . . I am in a bad situation. Even if it came to paying [the stepdaughter's part of inheritance in cash, instead of giving her land, in the case of her marriage], it would be difficult to find a loan, because I don't know myself what and upon what I am [what is my position, as the father of the heirs]. The worst is that my hands are tied, so that I cannot manage the affairs freely. Even now I do much, for I don't know what another man would do in my situation [probably less]. Now I think it a pity that I did not go earlier to America; at present it is too difficult. . . . .

WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI

The stork's nest fell down last summer; it was rotten with rains. Now there is none.

47 March 15, 1911

DEAR BROTHERS: [More than half the letter filled with farm and weather news.] Now as to the fast in our country, the Holy Father, or the Pope, gave an exemption for 7 years. On all the days of the whole year except the eve of the day of God's Mother, December 8, and Good Friday, we can eat milk. On all Saturdays of the year, if it

does not happen to be the eve of some holiday or quarterly fast-day, we can eat meat. On all the Sundays during Lent, we can eat meat, even more than once. On all the Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays in Lent, except Good Thursdays, we can eat meat once a day. The Holy Father gave an exemption for the Kingdom of Poland for 7 years, commuting the fast for other good deeds. He did it last year, in April. The papers published it at once. The priests did not publish it; only when the whole people learned it and it was impossible to keep it secret they proclaimed it. Nevertheless we keep the old habit about meat, only in Lent we eat milk on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and on the other days we fast. . . . .[1]

W. Wróblewski

48 March 16, 1912

"Praised be Jesus Christus!"

Dear Brothers: I announce to you today sad and painful news. Today, March 16, at 4 o'clock in the morning, our Olcia ended her temporal life, and moved to eternity, toward which we also are going. It is sad and sorrowful news. For the second time I bear such a painful blow. What is left to me? Even this one who has been instead of a mother to these younger ones bade us farewell, not for a day, not for a week, but for eternity. She went often to church, but she came back, and now she will never come back. Oh, how sad it is to think of it! And the house is empty without her.

The spring comes, and there will be much work. Who will do this? Now I can do almost nothing at home, I must do my work, because, thanks to it, we can more easily drive poverty away, the more so as this funeral will cost more than 60 roubles. . . . . And moreover, there are rumors that the Stalugis from Barwiki and Feliks . . . . Łaba intend to claim the inheritance after her, but I believe that they will receive from us as much as the Stalugis formerly received from my late wife [nothing]. . . . . Olcia wanted to bequeath it to me, but it was not possible, because she was not full 21 years old.

[1] The persistence of old customs among peasants is very well shown in the matter of fasting. The example of Wróblewski, who fasts in spite of the exemption, is typical. The whole modern evolution in the church's attitude toward fasting remained without any influence upon the isolated peasant communities. This shows also the relative independence of religion *as custom* from the sanction of the church.

But as far as I have asked, her part belongs by the right of inheritance to the younger half-brothers and half-sisters. . . . .

W. W.

49 May 14, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . Now I inform you that I have already a new housewife at home. I took her from Płonka. She is Miss Anna Perkowska, from the house where Horko formerly lived. She is the daughter of Horko's son-in-law, and 30 years old. Moreover, she is a good seamstress, because others learn from her. Although she does not look pretty, for me it is more than enough, for I am no longer the same as I was long ago. Now I have two sewing-machines; one can even be sold. Her stock of clothing is substantial enough—no need to buy her new dresses soon. And the order at home is becoming different, and I am glad of it, because up to the present there has been a terrible confusion in the house. Now, if only good harmony prevails at home, it will be better, I hope. . . . . I have nothing more of interest to write. I mention only that our marriage was performed on May 7, on the eve of St. Stanisław, and there was a good enough, although not a big wedding-feast. . . . .[1]

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

50 August 2, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: [Weather, farm-work, crops.] Now I have had no letter from you for a long time. I wrote in May that a change had happened with me, that I had taken a new wife. . . . . Now at least the order at home is somewhat better, because up to this time it has been very bad; and a little money is more easily found when necessary, since I took my position again. Although my occupations are more numerous, at least there is some result. Now it will be more easily possible to go somewhere and to see something. It would not be bad, only Edward is somewhat lazy. Perhaps he will improve when he grows up. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

[1] Less ceremonial and less social importance are always attached to second marriages, but the lack of any touch of romance and of any wedding announcements marks this as an unusually matter-of-fact arrangement.

51 October 21, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: [Weather, crops, prices; news about acquaintances.] Now in Płonka we have a new church . . . . it will be consecrated next year. Our village gathered 150 roubles for one window of the new church; other villages give money also, but we have shown ourselves munificent as compared with the others, for which we have been praised more than once from the chancel by the priest. Now, at home it does not go badly. My present housekeeper, or rather wife, keeps good order at home and also with the children; they are all cleaner than before, and my Józia says that she never had such a chemise as she has now. . . . . Well, the service is not bad; I get 30 [roubles] every month. She earns for herself by sewing . . . . and I do not have to pay for the weeding, harvesting, digging, etc. . . . . [More farm-news.]

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

52 March 7, 1913

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . We live still in the old way, but perhaps soon there will be something new [war]. Everything here is as you wrote. We expected bad times very soon. Now it seems that for the present there will be peace, but it seems that, as the papers write, this misery is unavoidable sooner or later. Where shall we go then? We shall all perish probably in some awful way, if we live long enough to see it come. . . . . Although even now we don't enjoy any delights, then a terrible misery awaits us, and we shall be separated from you, not singly, but all together, and we shall give no news about ourselves and get none from you. . . . .

These 30 roubles which I earn monthly are still not enough for such expenses. And as my son is moreover a lazy boy, the farming is bad at home. Even now I have been obliged to kill a cow; she could neither rise nor calve. Only two are left. And then everybody must be clothed and shod, and I must count well in order to get our living. I got entangled in this misery so that there is no way out of it. I became the slave of my own family. If I saw that my son would be a farmer and that, if God allowed me to live until old age, I could spend it with him, then it would be possible to bear it. But I don't see it, for he is lazy in every line, careless. Wherever he goes, he will have hard times. Now when I am not at home he becomes still

more idle. I cannot decide about this property, and he will be no farmer, as it seems. So if I live so long that I am unable to work myself—what then? [Weather; Easter-wishes.]

WALERY WRÓBLEWSKI

53 October 10, 1913

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I am always very interested in how you live there in the foreign country. It is a pity that you have worse luck this year, but this happens always and everywhere. Do you hope at least to keep this farm? Will there be no failure? Now I inform you that there is a change with me. My chief went away and a new one came. I don't know whether it will be possible to serve under him; it seems that he will be very particular. I should be glad to remain at least for the winter. . . . .

Now I inform you that we shall surely have colonies [commassation of land], because all the villages of the commune Łapy agree; and not a great agreement is needed, because it is enough if more than half of the village wants it; then the others must agree. . . . . Everybody will sit upon a single spot, the pasture will be common, and the fields and meadows will be measured anew. I am very curious what will come of it.[1]

Now, on August 24 was the consecration of the new church in Płonka. Now we are already going to the new church. It is a pleasure to see, how beautiful it is. . . . . Michał is now going to school, and the youngest boy Wacław [son of the new wife] is growing very well. . . . .

W. WRÓBLEWSKI

54 April 4, 1914

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . Now I remain in the same employment. My chief will go away again and a new one will come. It is not very good to have to get accustomed to a new one so often. There is now work enough for me . . . . and there is always something for the work [some money], but there is one misfortune. My

[1] Under the old system the peasant had his land in small pieces (Wróblewski, as he says, had his seven morgs—nine and one-half acres—in forty spots), and with as many neighbors as he had plots of land the peasant was in constant disputes over questions of trespass and the like. The new system has resulted in incomparably fewer quarrels and lawsuits.

Edward every year sees the stork for the first time standing or lying, and I, on the contrary, see him always flying. Yesterday also I saw the first stork this year flying; surely he will bring something this year. Such is my luck.[1]

My youngest Wacław is a strong boy and keeps well. Perhaps he will have more energy, because these older ones have been bad and miserable since childhood, and even now there is little energy in them; and there is work enough, if not at home, then elsewhere, if one is not a lazy fellow. . . . .[2]

W. Wróblewski

55 Tuesday, December 10, 1907

Dear Brother: . . . . I thank you for your letter, which pleased and grieved me at the same time. It pleased me because I learned something about you from your own hand, and grieved me because you described truly your situation. I knew about it long ago, it is true, but up to the last moment I could not believe that the danger was so imminent. How can I help you? I may only say that if you are unhappy (in this life), think that perhaps there are others, a hundred times more unhappy than you; and even those who at first sight seem to succeed well enough, if we looked nearer, and if we could discover the mysteries of their life, we should know that the life of every one of them is one series of sufferings. And if a man could see all his sufferings at once, he would certainly try to shorten them voluntarily.

But let us not talk about other people, only about ourselves. Let us begin with the oldest. Is Walery happy? Is everything with him going on as he wishes? At first it would seem we could say yes. It is but enough to look at the health of his wife and his children, particularly in their first years, in order to have an idea of his success.

[1] We have here an instance of a very general belief that the good or bad omen is a real factor causing the foretold phenomenon to appear. This belief is the background of the magical hygiene of the peasants. There is a whole code of prescriptions—as to what and how omens are to be avoided.

[2] The laziness of which he complains is certainly a result of heredity. The children have inherited a weak organism from their consumptive mother. But this interpretation is never very clearly realized by a peasant. The attitude toward hereditary physical weakness is usually one of moral condemnation, unless there is a definite defect which puts the given person a priori outside of any social competition.

Further, was Marysia, in the flower of her age, happy? Certainly not. About Feliks I don't know much. But if somebody ordered me to be in his skin, a scapegoat, then I should be glad if there were ten Americas. You think probably that I make suppositions—true or not—about his wife. Then come you, I and Konstanty. We know about you. As to me, we can shrug our shoulders. To live alone seemed to me no business. I considered marriage a difficult duty, but nobody who has not experienced it can have any idea about it. It is not because I have made a bad choice, but because with marriage are connected the most painful and irritating questions. I don't say that my condition is the worst, but it is far from being good, and the skies, instead of brightening, get clouded. Let us mention only one, the least important question. Every beast has its lair, the dog has his kennel, while we must wander about strange corners and depend upon the landlord's caprice, and we cannot even dream about our own kennel. And it is useless to speak about the rest. There remains Konstanty. I don't know how he succeeds. You write that he does very well, but I cannot believe that a man condemned to live far away from his native country could feel really happy.[1]

I was astonished in reading in your last letter the question, whether I had not forgotten you. In my opinion to forget for a long time one's brothers and sisters would be equal to forgetting for a long time to eat. Particularly now, when our father has disowned us, when our own father tries to harm us in every possible way—as you know probably from our brother's letters—we ought to be, all of us, near one another, "one for all and all for one." And if we cannot unify ourselves materially, then at least let us be united spiritually as closely as possible, and then it will be easier to bear the burden of life, and our Lord God will help us.[2]

[Józef Wróblewski]

[1] The letter is full of meaning as showing the nature of the peasant's pessimism. Whenever theoretical reflection takes the place of action the practical optimism of the peasant changes into a theoretical pessimism; the less of active energy we find in an individual or a group, the more pessimism prevails. (Cf. Osiński series, No. 78, note.) But religion, where the practical rather than the theoretical attitudes are expressed, is optimistic, as far as uninfluenced by the Christian terrors of God's wrath.

[2] A good expression of the peasant's own conception of familial solidarity.

56 [No date, probably 1908]

DEAR BROTHERS: I wrote in my preceding letter that I would write another soon, and I am doing it now. It does not cost me much, and to you it is probably the same, for if you pay for a box yearly a smaller or larger number of letters makes no difference. I promise my wife that if I go to America, I shall write her letters regularly every week, but I don't know myself whether it will be true, for sometimes something may change or some impediment may come. Is it not true? . . . .

Jan Łaba, from our village, is going to America for the second time. He says it is the best to go there for winter, because it is not hot and is easier to work. Last Wednesday we had the autumnal *odpust* [parish-festival][1] in Płonka, on St. Michael's day. During the day the weather was nice, but in the morning it rained and therefore people from farther districts did not come. I, Franciszek and Ignacy came together—for now we seldom come together—and we talked of course about "old times." Franciszek related how, about 12 years ago, he came back from the same parish-festival when the people were driving the cattle into the fields. Evidently, there can be no question of that now, for his dear wife would arrange for him upon earth, or even simply in their home, a "Dante's hell," and he would merit it in fact.[2] And thus having talked and complained about bad luck, after the end of the divine service we went back at once, each his own way.

In general now it is sad in Płonka, for nobody comes there from Łapy, because they have their own chapel and soon they will begin to build a church. But we shall have time enough to talk about it when I come to you. And now I renew my request to Kostuś. If he can and if both of you believe that it is worth while, let him send

[1] "Odpust" means literally "indulgence," that is, partial or total remission of punishment for sins to be suffered on earth or in purgatory. During the parish festival full indulgence is granted to those who confess and commune and perform certain good deeds. Hence the identification of "indulgence" and "festival."

[2] The peasant conscience excludes conjugal infidelity absolutely. (Cf. the last letters of Stasia in the Piotrowski series.) Besides murder and wronging of the helpless, it is the only sin which he never excuses. Even in the tales, in which almost all sins occasionally find pardon, there is no remission of infidelity. In this respect the conscience of townspeople, particularly of handworkers, is much more lax. The relation of the master's wife with the journeyman is not always condemned.

me a ship-ticket, for here people say that if one goes without a ship-ticket, he must have 200 roubles, for if he does not show 50 roubles when leaving the ship he will be sent back. And if it is true, I could hardly gather 200 roubles, unless by selling all my household effects at auction, and I should not like that at all. And then, I should leave a few roubles for my wife and my son. But first I ask you for advice, whether it is worth going, for if I don't earn $1½ a day, it would not be worth thinking about America. . . . . It is a pity that Kostuś is no longer in the mines, for I should like to have piece-work, for work is never too hard. . . . .

JÓZEF WRÓBLEWSKI

57 December 13, 1909

DEAR BROTHERS: The man was not stupid who made the proverb: "Man shoots and aims, but the Lord God directs the bullets." The same proved true with me. At the moment when I had a real intention of going to you, and when I received your letter, then a "something," as we call it usually, got me, but such a "something" that while I could still think of America it was only of the America from which nobody ever comes back. I was not actually laid up, but worse still, for with a man who is lying in bed things are soon decided in one way or another. As to me, I am sick in my lungs, coughing, catarrh, sore throat, headache. In a word, like a broken pot. . . . . Now I am better than in the beginning, but far from being fully recovered. . . . . I don't know now myself when I shall be able to visit you, and whether I shall be able at all, for to feel something bad about one's self and to go beyond the sea in search of bread would be very silly. . . . . To tell the truth, day-work does not attract me much, for during 10 years I have become unaccustomed to anybody's controlling my work. Even if I worked the best possible, I should always have the impression that the boss considered it insufficient. Piece-work is quite another matter. I want it still and always. Perhaps I could find it.[1]

As to the news, there is a sad piece. Wincenty K. (from whom our father bought the mill-wheel), became half-insane because of money troubles and a few days ago cut his throat with a razor. He walked after this about a verst, and died under a fence near his home.

[1] On piece-work see Introduction: "Economic Attitudes."

And it is a pity, for he was such an honest man. There is also gay news. Stefka G. married a boy from Szolajdy. . . . . The wedding was on the last Sunday before Advent. But God pity us! What marriage-festivals there are now! It began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and at 10 in the evening there was not a strange soul left, except of course the groom, who was not so stupid as to leave his beloved. Thus the whole festival did not last even 12 hours.[1] There were only 5 bottles of brandy for 60 persons. To tell the truth, it would be better in general if there had been none. There was more beer, but people got sick, for even without beer it was cold enough.

. . . .

JÓZEF WRÓBLEWSKI

[1] We find in many letters the statement that the marriage-festivals are becoming shorter and less ceremonial. It is an immediate sign that marriage is losing more and more its social character; mediately it shows the progressive individualization of peasant life in general.

STELMACH SERIES

Jan Stelmach, the old man who writes these letters, is a perfect type of Galician peasant farmer, with some instruction, indeed, but without any climbing tendencies and with a definite class-consciousness. Except for the usual troubles of country life, he seems to be perfectly satisfied with his position. In this respect the Galician peasant differs from the peasants in Russian and German Poland. Perhaps owing to greater national freedom and because of the relatively insignificant industrial progress of Galicia, the peasant there developed a particular pride and a strong class-feeling. Even when he gets a higher instruction, becomes a priest, a teacher, an official, he is seldom ashamed of his origin, remains and wants to remain a peasant. From the advice which old Stelmach gives to his son and daughter-in-law it is evident that he considers, consciously and after reflection, the peasant form of life the most normal and sound, physically and morally.

There is also an interesting variety of the family problem. We see that the Stelmach family, except for some slight misunderstandings, remains harmonious—much more so than the Wróblewskis or even the Osińskis. But this does not mean that the old solidarity and community are preserved. On the contrary, there is already a far-going individualization, as shown, for example, in the question of marriage and in economic matters (real division of the property; independence of the son in America). But the individualization goes on without any struggle. The old man, for instance, voluntarily resigns any active control of his son, and limits himself to giving advice. He welcomes with joy his unknown daughter-in-law, although the way

in which the marriage was performed was contrary to all the traditions. He never asks his son for money, although he knows that the latter is well off; he has a sufficient understanding of the desire of the other children to get better individual positions in America, and not only does not protest against their plan of emigration, but asks the oldest son to help them. In short, in this matter there seems to be also a more rational and self-conscious attitude in the Stelmach family than in many others. Instead of a stubborn holding to tradition, we find an acknowledgment of the inevitable limitation of its power. Perhaps familiarity with the phenomena of emigration (of which we find a proof in Stelmach's knowledge of the American conditions) has helped to develop this attitude.

THE FAMILY STELMACH

Jan Stelmach, a farmer
Ewa, his wife
Józef
Jędrzej
Michał
Piotr
Wojtek (Wojciech)
} his sons

Kaśka
Jadwiga
} his daughters

Sobek, the husband of Kaśka
Julianna (Julcia, Julka, Ulis), the wife of Józef
Julianna's parents
Makar, Julianna's brother

Magdusia
Hanka
} Julianna's sisters

Krzysztof Żak, uncle of Ewa Stelmach

Rózia Stefańska
Jagusia Sasielska (Wojtkowa)
Zośka (Zosia)
} his daughters

58 PORĘBY WOLSKIE, March 1, 1909

Praised be Jesus Christus and the Holiest Virgin Mary, His Mother!

DEAREST CHILDREN: . . . . I wanted to send wishes for the name-day of Julianna, and I saw in the yearly almanac that St. Julianna is on March 20, so I intended to send my wishes to you both. But I did not succeed, because I ascertained finally that St. Julianna is on February 16, and so I have erred through this yearly almanac. So now I will send my wishes only to you, dear son. To you, dear daughter-in-law, I will send wishes for your name-day next year, if I live so long, because now I know already that the day of your patron is February 16.

Well, dear son, a year has passed away, and the day of March 19, your name-day, approaches. Your mother and I want to offer you various wishes, dear child. We wish you health, happiness, good success, an honored name, every good luck, indissoluble love in your marriage. May you love each other and never know any sorrow, may you never know misery, may you have bread and money enough! May our Lord God illuminate you with his mercy, that you may always know what to do and what to avoid. May our Lord God send you happiness and blessing, that you may have everything, want nothing, live happily and praise God. May our Lord God grant you every sweet thing! This wish you your father and mother. Vivat our son Józef! May he live a hundred years, may our Lord God weave health and happiness, health and fortune into his life!![1]

Now I describe to you our condition. Your aunt wrote to us and sent us a dollar in the letter. We received the letter but the dollar was not there, because somebody had stolen it. I wrote to the aunt never to send money again in a letter, not even in a registered one, because many dollars have already been lost from letters. Poor aunt, she has so little herself and she wants to help us! May our Lord God give her whatever is the best, because she wants to help us as she can, but some wicked man has swallowed $6 already. . . . . And don't you send money in a letter either, because a letter can be opened easily. You have only to moisten it with spittle where it is

[1] The whole paragraph (half in verse) is a typical *speech*, such as would be said during a family festival. The function of ceremonial wishes is here made as plain as possible. (See Forms and Functions of the Peasant Letter.)

glued and put it under your arm. When it becomes warm, the glue loosens up and it is easy to open it with a needle, to read it, then to moisten and to glue it up, adjusting carefully the borders of the seal. If it won't hold, you need only rub it with a potato and it will stick up, and nobody will know it. . . . . So don't dare to send it in a letter, because it is nowhere difficult to find a thief.[1]

We are all in good health, but our condition is meanwhile a little sad because, as you know, when there is one thing another thing is lacking. So we lacked milk during the carnival, and our cow was to calve at the end of February, and we were watching whether she would not calve. On the night of February 26 to 27 I went to the stable to see whether the cow was not calving, and I found the cow strangled. . . . . The other young cow had torn herself loose and had pushed her with her horns. The cow had pulled the chain, but the chain was strong and could not be broken, and the cow was strangled. So we had a sorrow in those days, but God gave it, God took it away, may He have honor and glory; he afflicted us, but he will also comfort us. . . . .[2]

Aunt Walkowa Stelmaszka [wife of the paternal uncle, Walek Stelmach] intends to send her daughter Agnieszka to America to Borek [probably her brother]. You write that Borek did not answer you. It was because many fellow-countrymen tumbled upon him there, and he was afraid that you had no work and he thought that if you came to him, he would be obliged to support you.[3] But if you

[1] The old man has evidently used this means of opening and reading letters, but it must be remembered that there is no strong feeling of privacy about letters among peasants. The letter is always at least family-property, and all the members of the family have the right to read it independently of the will of the person by whom it is written or to whom addressed. To some, often to a very large, extent the whole village claims the right to read a private letter, particularly if there are greetings for many neighbors, or if the news interests the community. This was e.g., the case with letters from Brazil during the craze for emigration to that region. The refusal to give a letter to read is considered almost an offense. The more isolated the community from the external world, the rarer the news, the less the feeling of privacy is developed.

[2] The formula is exactly the same after the death of a child.

[3] According to the principle of solidarity Borek should have received his relative. But there are too many claims, and the situation is abnormal. Normally the relation of solidarity exists first of all between the individual and the group, and only secondarily among individual members of the group. The individual has duties toward the group as a whole and the group as a whole has duties toward every individual; but an individual has duties toward another

don't wish to go to a farm you don't need to write to him. We won't write you more, only we greet you very warmly. May our Lord God make you happy and bless you, our dear children!

Your parents,

JAN and EWA STELMACH

And we also, your brothers and sisters, greet you, brother and sister-in-law, very warmly.

I, your aunt Wojtkowa [wife of Wojtek] Sasielska, greet you, my nephew Józwa [Joseph] and my niece Julka [Julianna]. As I happened to be here when your letter came and as they answer you while I am here, so I greet you and wish you health and happiness for your new household.

59 September 27, 1909

. . . . DEAR SON: We wrote before to you and to your aunt, and now we write again to you and to your aunt. We wrote before to your aunt that her sisters are to pay her 50 crowns each, and now I have written her that the sisters calculate that either Rózia will give them [this money], or it will be lost [to her], because she won't come here to our country for these 100 crowns. And I wrote to your aunt that if she wants to collect these 100 crowns herself, let her do it, but if she were to give [this money] to them, let her not give it to them, but let her rather give it to us, i.e., to your mother. If your aunt gives it to us, let her send us a power of attorney certified by the consul. But the consul won't certify it without money, so we beg you very nicely, beg your aunt in our name to do it, and pay whatever it costs. If your aunt will collect [this money] for herself, let her collect it, but instead of giving it to her sisters and your aunts, let her rather give it to us. So when you receive the letter, do your best, because we

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individual only because and as far as both are members of the same group, not because they are immediately connected with each other. Therefore, when the individuals are isolated from their groups, as happens on emigration, their reciprocal duties cease to be real, just in the measure in which they are cut off from the common basis. A personal, variable, voluntary, relation takes the place of the social norm. Claims on help are, as a matter of fact, much less exacting at home than abroad. At home a single individual who needs help finds many who can help him, each one a little; abroad a single individual who is able to help has often to bear the burden of supporting many who are in a difficult condition. (Cf. Raczkowski series, the situation of Adam after his marriage.)

send a letter to you and another to your aunt. We beg you, do your best, that your aunt may give this money to us, and not to Jagusia and Zosia. . . . .[1]

[JAN and EWA STELMACH]

60 November 5, 1909

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We gathered from the field what our Lord God gave us. He did not take it away in our village, but on other sides of the country hail has beaten [the crops]. Wola was left free from [God's] punishment, but we have gathered less than last year. . . . .[2]

We are very glad that you are in good health and that you speak to us. May God make you happy and bless you and save you from any evil. Here Urbanowa [wife of Urban] Chudzicka, our relative, is dead and Urban married at once in the house of Łukaszek Maruta [the daughter of L. M.], that Rózia who worked in Wola, and now he has a young wife. Krzysztof Żak is also dead. Aunt Stefańska wrote to us asking who will pay her part of the inheritance [who is the main heir, taking the land and paying the other heirs in cash]. But I did not answer her directly, because the government ordered this money of the heirs to be put in the bank, and I thought that they would put it there. But the other aunts won't put it, because your grandfather had at first left the field near the forest to Rózia [Stefańska], but finally he willed it to Jagusia and Zośka [other sisters], and they are to pay to Rózia 25 gulden each. They will give together 50 gulden, i.e., 100 crowns. They would be glad if Stefańska gave them these 100 crowns as a gift, and your mother intended also to write Rózia asking her to give these 100 crowns to your mother, but she did not dare, because Aunt Rózia received too small a part of the

[1] The grandfather evidently thought that Aunt Rózia, being in America, needed no money. He wanted, in fact, to relieve the heirs who took the land from a heavy payment. A hundred crowns is a trifle in comparison with the probable value of the land, and leaving the sum to her at all was certainly nothing but a formality; the grandfather did not wish to omit her completely in the will, as this would mean a disavowal of the daughter. That it was a formality is proved by the request of the sisters to give this money to them. And this explains old Stelmach's similar request. He would hardly have asked his sister-in-law to cede her rights to his wife if her inheritance were *real*, e.g., a piece of land.

[2] The aleatory element in economic life. For the consequences of this element, see Introduction: "Economic Life"; "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

inheritance.[1] You will ask perhaps what she will do, whether she will let them [the two other aunts] send her these 100 crowns, or will give them to one of them. But they . . . . [illegible word; perhaps "have slandered" or "have wronged"] the aunt, so she ought not give this money to them.

Michał [son] wrote to us that you had answered him. If you think it good, you could let him come there, but not until spring. . . . . You say that [workmen] are striking; well, that is funny! Not long ago they had no work, and now already they don't want to work, but require a higher pay! We have now repaired the stable; we made two stables, one for the horses, another for the cows. People say that in that town where you are there is a big stench, the whole town is covered with smoke as with clouds. . . . .

JAN and EWA STELMACH

[The first paragraph of the following letter is of the ceremonial type (similar to the first part of No. 58) and is printed as No. 4 among the specimens of peasant letters.]

61 January 30, 1910

. . . . In the last letter I asked you to advise me whether I should send Michał and Wojtek to Prussia or to America. You did not even answer me. If you think that it is good there and if you have a little money, you may send a ship-ticket at least to one of them, so at least one shall go. You never say to them any word of praise, that it is well there, so they are afraid to go to America, and here at home you know yourself how it has been. They quarrel with each other. Sometimes one succeeds in Prussia and sometimes not, and then the summer is passed in vain. If he came there to you he could work back for the ship-ticket, in the same way as you worked back for the ticket which your aunt sent you. It would be well if you sent [tickets] for both of them. . . . . So now you understand it to be better, on that side praise it [praise, in writing to them, the course which you consider the best], because people think it strange, that you don't take either

[1] The situation has an additional interest from the fact, that Jagusia and Zosia are the own sisters of Aunt Rózia, while the writer's wife Ewa is only her cousin. The Stelmachs' claim is therefore based not upon family-relationship, but upon the nearness of personal relations.

of them.[1] If you had taken Kaśka also, it would have been easier for us, and perhaps better for her, because we contracted debts for her sake and she does not get on well. The sister and brother of Sobek [son-in-law, husband of Kaśka] require the debt to be paid, and if not, then interest to be paid, and the interest on twelve hundred is 72 gulden. Think how it is necessary to work in our country in order to live and to put 72 gulden aside. This makes her sad. But you never wrote her "Sister, come here, you will earn, and you will get on well." But this is past. Now you can only advise your brothers so that everything may be well. [Greetings from the whole family.]

JAN and EWA STELMACH

Gud Baj [goodbye; probably imitates the son who adds this in his letters].

62 November 31, 1910

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We wrote to you in August but you did not answer, and so now we risk writing to you, because we think that you have moved somewhere and our letter did not reach you. . . . . Our condition is not pleasant, because winter tumbled upon us, snows have been falling since November 22, and it is difficult to go out anywhere. The boys did not come from Prussia, they wrote that they will come only for Christmas. The cold annoys them, because they must rise at dawn to work and labor long in the evening. Dear children, we send you consecrated wafers. Although there are also wafers [there], yet you are entered in the registers of this parish, so we send you them from here, because you are Christians.[2] Many people forget there that they are Christians, but

[1] It is explicitly stated here that the sending of ship-tickets to one's relatives is not a mere act of kindness, but a familial duty—more so than the sending of money home, for that question is never raised in this series. A certain individualization of familial relations seems to be manifested by this distinction. Indeed, by sending money home the emigrant helps his family immediately as a whole, while by taking one family-member to America he evidently helps this member immediately and the rest of the family only mediately.

[2] This connection between religious valuation and local patriotism is very frequent. Not only the wafer from one's own parish has more value than one from anywhere else, but the same is true of any other object of religious or magical significance. A particular importance in this respect was attached to earth. It was an old custom of emigrants and wanderers to carry a little earth of their

don't you forget that you are Christians and that you believe in one God. As long as you speak to your parents, it is evident that you believe in our Lord God, but when you disown your parents, it is evident from this that you don't believe in our Lord God.[1] I asked you to answer us and to give the address of the Stefańskis . . . . and your mother wanted you absolutely to answer at once and to write why you wanted to go to the mines, whether you had no work where you are. People say that there in Pittsburgh it would need a dragon to hold out. They say that even in fine weather no sun is to be seen. . . . . If it is true, move rather to another city. . . . .

JAN and EWA STELMACH

63 March 28, 1911

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . When you did not write for so long a time we thought different things about you. I asked a peasant from Wólka how Wojciech Maksyn was getting on. He said that he [Maksyn] was selling his horse and asked me how I knew about him. I said that my son married his daughter. And this peasant said, "One son-in-law ran away from his daughter." Then I thought that you had run away and therefore don't write to us, and I intended to write to Maksyn in Wólka [to learn] which of his sons-in-law had run

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ancestors' land with them which played the rôle of a talisman and was to be put under their heads in the grave in case they died and were buried far from their native village.

[1] The very real psychological unity of the traditional set of attitudes is here evidently exaggerated, since various attitudes *may* be dropped or changed separately. But this exaggeration itself is significant, for it must exert a real influence upon the evolution of the subject himself and upon the attitude of the environment toward him. A man who has dropped one traditional attitude will drop the others more easily, because in his own conscious reasoning they seem more connected than they are in reality. This will happen particularly if, as is often the case, intellectual factors in general tend to influence strongly individual life while the level of instruction is rather low. Thus, among the socialists of the lower classes many traditions are rejected without any real necessity and against the man's own feeling, simply because they are *believed* connected with others which were logically rejected as incompatible with the socialistic ideals. On the other hand, the behavior of the social environment toward an individual who has dropped some traditions is usually determined by the prepossession that he must have dropped all traditional attitudes—precisely as Stelmach explicitly states here. Sometimes a very trifling change is sufficient to arouse this prepossession, e.g., a change of dress, of the old way of farming, the dropping of magical beliefs, etc.

away and from which of his daughters. But now you have written to us and we already know that it is not you who left your wife. We pity you very much that you have no health there now, and I wrote you already to move away from that Pittsburgh. . . . . I would advise you to move with your wife to Trenton, N.J. There in Trenton are people from our neighborhood, and they are in good health and they earn well enough. Kuba Chudzik from Brzyski is now there and intends to come home. If he does not leave before this letter reaches you, you could write to him; so you might succeed him in his work when he comes home. He works in an iron-factory and has good wages. [Gives addresses of other people in Trenton.] But you must try to get information, so as not to lose the work which you have . . . . before you find anything in Trenton. . . . . Even if you wanted to come back to our country there is no goodness here, because, as you know, those who were with you returned to our country and then went to America again, because it is strait here.

And you, Julka, don't grieve, for you are sick from grief; you will get a nervous illness, when you are so you are neither healthy nor sick, and no doctor can help against a nervous illness. So don't worry. Commend yourself to the will of God and work as much as you can; then you will have no time to grieve. And don't lace too tightly, for there the women lace their corsets so much that they look squeezed up like wasps, and when they bind themselves up so tightly, the blood is checked and the body is ill. And don't grieve either that your little son is dead. The Lord gave, the Lord took away, praised be His name. . . . .

There in Pittsburgh, people say, the dear sun never shines brightly, the air is saturated with stench and gas. The most healthy life is on farms, but if you have no intention of going on a farm, then at least move where the air is better. . . . .

JAN and EWA STELMACH

64 [May, 1911]

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: [Thanks for the wishes which were sent for his name-day.] We had a little sorrow because in one week three lay sick with measles, Jadwisia, Marcin and Wojtek. . . . . Wojtek was to go to Prussia, but he remained, and therefore he was more sick than the smaller ones, and so the summer will pass. But he could

be useful even at home, because our stable is ruined and it is necessary to repair it and to build another for the horse. . . . . We had another sorrow, because a mare of Kaśka died. She was worth 100 gulden. This has pained us also, because, dear children, if anything pains you, it pains us also, because we love you all as ourselves. If you write that you are getting on well and your little wife, our daughter-in-law, also, then we are glad, even if misery oppresses ourselves, because we see that although we have misery, yet at least our children have good success.

This year seems not to be bad here, but from the past one everybody is thin, because the winter was big. The cattle are standing at home up to the middle of May, and we were obliged to mix the chopped straw with flour and potatoes, and now men are lacking food. The prices are as high as in America. . . . .

You write that you have a small lodging. Have you then nobody to live with you and to help you pay the rent? Julka does not go to work now, so if she has no occupation whatever in her hands she is tired. If you had people boarding, she would have distraction and she would even be more healthy, because when a man works, he is healthy, but when he loafs around in vain he gets weaker and weaker. It is said that therefore many people have no good health in America. As long as a girl goes to work she is healthy, but when she gets married she does not go to work and she stretches herself [lies idle] so that blood cannot run in her veins, fresh air does not reach her because she sits continually in her lodgings. Even if she goes out into the world petticoats drag behind her and air does not reach her [because she is too heavily dressed], and she has no health. And she goes to her country, and then from her country again to America, and so they lose money on ship-tickets. Let them dress as easily as at home. Don't sit in vain [idle] don't eat much meat, and thus you will all be healthy. . . . .

JAN and EWA STELMACH

You write that Michał wrote to you that he wanted to go to America, but he is too weak for America. He got thin in serving, particularly with Pełka. You were there and you saw how it was. Wojtek is younger, but stronger than Michał. Jędrzej would find his way in America, but he is afraid of America, he cannot be persuaded. . . . .

65 February 23, 1913

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We are very glad that you keep so much poultry and a pig; it is as if you had a farm. When you learn to keep poultry and pigs, and when your children grow up, then you will go to a farm. . . . .[1]

I thought that only in our country people talk about war, but I see that even in America they write about war and insurrection. But there they speak about war lightly, and here among us they are so afraid of war that they weep. The reservists called in autumn have been kept up to the present. In the beginning of March there is to be a military call; 206,065 soldiers are to be taken to the army. The Sokols are waiting for war even in our country, but the people in villages are so afraid that they tremble from fear.[2]

From your aunt Stefańska also we received a letter and a photograph of her two daughters. She wrote that formerly you called upon them often but now you do not come to them, and her children ask, "When will Józef come to us?" She said that she sends her two boys to work, and she said that they are getting on well. You write that [it would be well] if one [of your brothers] went to America. Well, I want absolutely to send one of them, or later even two; then you would not be homesick. Here it may be better perhaps only after the war. But who knows who will be left after the war? . . . . If I were stronger and if my leg did not pain me so much I would go to Wólka to your brother-in-law, and I would send you as a gift at least a few cheeses through him. But who knows whether he will go, and I cannot walk far. I asked about Julcia's father. I was told that he is getting on pretty well and has one daughter [married] rich, and the dowry cost him little. One man told me that he farms at home with his son, another said that he farms

[1] The people at home like to have their relatives in America become farmers. It is perhaps because of the analogy of interests. And this in spite of the fact that an emigrant who becomes a farmer in America will never return. (Cf. in this respect Wróblewski series.)

[2] The fear of war, so general among the peasants, is based upon old, only half-reasoned tradition rather than upon experience. Particularly the Galician peasants had had no experience of war since 1866, and then not a trying one. War is enumerated among the calamities which the peasants pray God every Sunday to avert, and there is an undetermined but on that account more awe-inspiring tradition of the horrors of war.

alone, and that he intends to have one daughter come from America, but he did not know which one. . . . .

[JAN and EWA STELMACH]

[Letter of May 3, 1913, regrets that his sons in America do not make greater efforts to meet in America certain relatives and acquaintances from Poland. Describes efforts to build new church.]

66 April 1, 1914

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . I received the papers from you four copies, I shall have an amusement for the holidays. Piotr and Wojtek went to [season-work in] Prussia on March 19; I wrote it to you, but I don't know whether you received my letter. I wrote you to send a ship-ticket for Piotr, but in leaving he said that he won't go from Prussia [to America], but later on from home. His address is: . . . . Write to them, don't begrudge the five cents, and they would answer you, and you would speak with one another, like brothers. I wrote you to send me "żmijecznik," a medicine which is called "żmijecznik," if anybody from Wólka or from Turza comes home . . . . because your mother has no good health, now as before.[1] I have been healthy, but now my leg aches, and people say that it won't be healed, and if it is healed, they say that I shall be sick. . . . .[2] [Weather.]

Dear son, your mother would be glad to see you before she dies, but it is difficult, because here in our country it gets worse and worse. Now many people get separated, although they have land. Many husbands leave their wives and go in search of work, some of them go to America, others to Prussia. The wife of Wawrzek Sidor fled to Prussia, and many others did so, because misery creeps into the housesf and drives people away into the world.[3] [Complains about cost o

[1] "Żmijecznik" is a magical remedy.

[2] It is a very frequent belief that if some particular disease, painful but not dangerous, is healed, the patient will become seriously sick, or will die within a certain time. The background of this belief is evidently magical. If the "evil principle" manifests itself through one of those diseases, it means that it has taken possession of the patient and that it cannot be driven out of him. If hindered in doing the smaller harm it will express itself in a greater harm.

[3] This is the only case in our materials where we find bad economic conditions expressly stated as the cause of a wife's running away from home. Other cases have been recorded by the Emigrants' Protective Association in Warsaw, but it

living.] Dear children, work and economize as much as you can, that you may have some help for the black hour [for any misfortune], because man is imperfect in this world and always lacks something. If man insisted on always having what he needs to be satisfied he would waste millions. It is best to live modestly, in order that it may suffice, because even counts have wasted their manors when they wanted to satisfy all their wishes. So live as you can. May our Lord God grant you health and happiness, the best possible. . . . .

JAN and EWA STELMACH

67

[Beginning lacking.] You ask whether Jędrzej married in the house of that Ludwik who had the [son] Kuba who called upon Dawik [visited the Dawik girls]. Yes, he married in the house of that Ludwik, but both the Ludwiks died, and Kuba married that Jadwiga who is the ablest among all the girls of Dawik. The others are like grandmothers. That Zośka who was in America got married to [a man from] Korowiska, and she is always sick. She has two children, but she did nothing more than bear them; she does not nurse them, only she had to buy a kind of a bottle and milks a cow and with this she feeds her children. The man who married her got little comfort from her. Dawik gave her only the money which she earned in America, and keeps until his death the field which she had after her mother; only when he dies, Zośka will have the field.

When Jędrzej got married, we had to make a will. We had to make a will because I am so as if I were ill, and your mother has also weak health. So your mother willed him that field near Pełka's [farm], and this one where we sit, and two morgs in Zrąbki, and these small buildings [contemptuously], and he is to keep us to the end and pay 1,000 crowns to you, 1,000 crowns to Piotr and 1,000 crowns to Michał. To Jadwiga we willed the field behind Urban's [farm], to Wojtek 3 morgs in Zrąbki. If we are not well [do not get along well] remaining with Jędrzej, then we have the right to harvest $\frac{1}{3}$ of the field and to have a place in the buildings. There are still 600 crowns of debt, so we are to work together and to pay this debt. Perhaps you

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always proved that the husband was a drunkard or a good-for-nothing. If external conditions are the cause of hard times husbands and wives may separate provisionally but in good understanding.

think, the sum which is to be paid to you is too small; but he [Jędrzej] even complained that he won't be able to pay so much. So, dear son, don't be angry with us, because what can we do, when it is difficult to throw the misery away; very seldom food is on hand, always we must buy more. . . . . The prices are as high here as in America, or perhaps even worse, because meat is brought from South America to our country, i.e., from Argentine. You write that you have killed the pig for yourself, and we did not kill, but we buy bacon for seasoning food.[1] [Enumerates prices.] So, dear children, work and economize as much as you can for your old age, because old people suffer misery. May our Lord God make you happy and bless you with your children; and don't forget us, but speak to us as long as we are alive.[2] Even so Walek Maryla and his wife envy us, because they have two sons in America, and they don't know whether they are even alive; they never write to them. . . . . I won't write you more until the next time, because here nothing is changed, nobody among the family died, everybody is alive but got older. . . . . [Greetings from the whole family.]

JAN and EWA STELMACH

[1] This complaint of high prices from a relatively rich peasant, the fact of buying food and the division of land, are signs of the growing difficulty of continuing the old forms of economic life, particularly in Galicia. Until industrial development restores the equilibrium emigration seems a necessity.

[2] This phrase and the whole form of the letter disclose the profound importance which giving up the farm to the children has for the old peasants. The phrase could be used by one entering a cloister; it expresses a feeling of having broken all the real connections with other people, so that nothing but a sentimental connection remains. The old man ceases to be an active member of the real family-group, and becomes an *individual* whose only relations with the family are sentimental and blood relations. The obligations toward him, as well as his obligations toward the rest of the family, cease to be *social*, and become only *moral*.

OSIŃSKI SERIES

In the present series we find a very full and typical image of the life of an average modern peasant family—one neither above nor below the normal level, and whose sphere of interests contains nothing particular. The life of the peasant woman is particularly well represented because most of the letters are written or dictated by women. The letters of the men are not without interest, but less complete.

Of course this is not a primitive peasant family, and we should not expect to find the old forms of familial and communal life untouched by modern life. The family lives near the German frontier, some thirty or forty miles from Thorn, in a locality in which season-emigration to Germany and emigration to America have existed for many years, and, naturally the disintegrating and modifying influence of this is strongly felt. But this is precisely the normal situation. Communities, families, and individuals preserving perfectly the old forms of life today are exceptions. Where emigration has not reached, the influence of Polish industrial and cultural centers is manifest, and, taking everything into account, this influence is incomparably more powerful and profound than that of emigration.

The most important personality is the mother Wiktorya Osińska. The first forty letters are dictated by her, in her own and her husband's name. She is the real proprietor of the farm, which was probably left to her by her parents, who died when she was four years old. But, of course, under the system of familial community, this question is never raised; probably her present husband brought also some land or money, but in any case the property is now simply common. Wiktorya married first Baranowski and,

after his death, her present husband, Osiński. She is a woman of the old type, very laborious, very religious, with a strong affection for her children—stronger probably than for her husband. Her son from the first marriage seems to be the one preferred, though this preference does not hinder her from occupying the standpoint of general familial solidarity and from agreeing with her husband in economic matters. She mediates between her sons, her daughter, her husband, trying to avoid any quarrels and to keep harmony within the family (see particularly No. 103). She has not been taught how to write, but she is interested in intellectual matters and appreciates instruction highly.

Her husband Antoni seems to be just an average peasant, with a strong familial, rather patriarchal, attitude; with a tendency to despotism but without sufficient power of will to be really despotic; much less egotistic than his sons or than some other fathers (cf. for example, Markiewicz series).

His two sons show egotism in a very high degree. Perhaps it is a result of the partial dissolution of the traditional solidarity. Michał is really interested in nothing except his personal life; he is an egotist in a passive way; he does not claim much (cf. Wiktorya's letter, No. 103) but neither does he give much; he barely writes home. He has real friendship for Jan, but no familial feelings. He has departed further from the traditional peasant attitudes than anyone else in the family—probably under the influence of his early life as groom in a manor house, and his early emigration. Aleksander has preserved much more of the old attitudes—love for land and farming, attachment to his country, traditional conception of marriage, interest in the family. But the real feeling of solidarity and community of familial life is weakened, and all these traditional attitudes take a new form, are directed in practice toward egotistic ends.

This is a very frequent type of partial disintegration of solidarity; the individual is still attached to the group and wants to live within it, but he develops purely personal tendencies and refuses to make any sacrifice for the group.

Jan Baranowski seems to be a rather unequilibrated man. He certainly gives proofs of true generosity, not only with regard to his own family—his mother praises his good heart—but also toward the family of his wife. (He married the daughter of Franciszka Kozłowska. See that series.) It seems that his friends have even exploited his generosity (cf. No. 72). On the other hand, he shows occasionally a lack of consideration, as, for instance, in his attitude toward Frania's marriage, and some avarice, as in his haste to get his part of the inheritance, his dissatisfaction with his share, and his effort to get as much money as possible from us for his letters. Although this avarice in matters of inheritance has nothing very prejudicial from the individualistic point of view, it is contrary to the familial spirit. His attitude toward Frania, on the other hand, is to be understood only from the familial standpoint. It seems in general that in Jan contradictory elements coexist—a broad basis of familial attitudes, and some individualistic tendencies, acquired during his solitary struggle for existence, but not interacting with the first; at different moments different sets of attitudes prevail in his behavior. This is, of course, one of the typical forms which a partial disintegration of the old psychology assumes.

Frania, the daughter, is, on the contrary, a rather harmonious character. Her psychology is determined in its main outlines by her familial functions, first as daughter, then as wife. But the (still rather low) degree of instruction which she received, and the individualistic tendencies which influenced her, as well as every other member of the community, make her perform her functions more consciously,

without the passivity which a peasant girl would have shown fifty years ago and sometimes still shows in more isolated groups. She is in particularly good relations with her mother, whose situation and feelings she understands better than anyone else. If she sides with her parents against her brothers in all the misunderstandings between them, it is not because of a mere subjection to authority, but out of real familial feelings. Even in writing letters under her mother's dictation she shows an effort to express exactly what her mother wants her to express, contrasting with the negligence of Aleksander. For the sake of economic and familial considerations she has to make a sacrifice and makes it, even postponing her marriage for three years. She finally marries from real love the man who waited for her, refusing another brilliant match. Later she is a loving wife and mother while keeping always the same attitude toward her parents.

We know little about the other members of the family. Adam, Frania's husband, is evidently a nice and relatively cultivated peasant, as is shown by his attitude toward Frania and by the fact that he has been elected to a post of confidence in a peasant association. The wives of Jan and Aleksander seem to be rather insignificant; there is not a trace of their influence upon the family life. The other branch of the family, the Smentkowskis, is also very little characterized. Their situation is more or less the same as that of the Osińskis.

Now, the Osiński situation is very typical for the present moment. The whole of the old organization of life is proving unadapted to the solution of new problems, and the result is a tragedy for the individuals who are unable to change their attitudes. Thirty or forty years ago the course of life of the family would have been very different. Each son would have lived at home until his call to military

service; he would have helped the parents, perhaps worked in addition as a hired laborer in the neighborhood. Having served his term, he would have returned and married, in the same village or in the neighborhood; he would have received money or land from his parents, taken some dowry with his wife, and settled upon a farm. One of them would have taken the parents' farm, as Aleksander did, others would have bought land. Of course, in spite of the dowries, each of them would have been poorer than the parents were, and only perhaps after many years, much work, and great parsimony would have attained almost the same level. But this problem was not particularly important as long as the fundamental economic idea was that of living, not of advance. If only each member of the family had enough to live on his own farm, the situation was all right.

But now comes the new tendency—that of advance. It is evident that the old organization gave no opportunity to advance. At best the next generation could attain the level of the preceding generation, and even this was more and more difficult. And it is also evident that a new organization is required to meet the new problem based no longer upon mere familial arrangements but upon the idea of improvement of personal economic aptitudes. Actually, a spirit of enterprise and a higher technical instruction in various lines should be developed in the young generation, enabling each member to rise independently, without further help from the group. But instead of this we find only partial and insufficient changes brought into the old organization. Jan, having spent his time unproductively until his twenty-sixth year, first at home, then in the army, has to increase his fortune instead of marrying and settling, according to the tradition. But no way other than emigration is left to him. Michał is sent to serve, in order to spare the cost of his living; in the manor he develops a

different psychology, but acquires no useful technical knowledge, and so his only recourse is also America. But he calculates rationally that since he is to emigrate he may as well do it before his military service and not waste his time unproductively. Later, the Russo-Japanese war breaks out, and after this neither he nor Jan, classed as deserters, can return. When they finally get their shares of the familial property these shares are certainly of very little productive utility to them in America. On the other hand, Frania gets a little technical instruction, but not enough to be of any real use, and she must be provided for in the old way, by a dowry. Thus the result of these inconsistent and partial changes of the old organization is that the family, whose task is really to provide for its members and which it would do more or less for all the members under the old system, is able to provide for only two—Frania and Aleksander. The two others get no serious help from the group, or get it too late. They become and have to remain isolated from the group and from their country. The parents are separated once and forever from two of their children; even if they went to America to live, against all their habits and traditions, the situation would not be better. In this way, through misadaptation the family loses all its real functions, and until a new and more perfect adaptation is elaborated its disintegration is a social necessity.

THE FAMILY OSIŃSKI

Antoni Osiński, a farmer
Wiktorya Osińska (by first marriage Baranowska) his wife
Jan (Janek) Baranowski, Wiktorya's son by her first husband
Michał (Michałek), Aleksander (Aloś) } sons of Antoni and Wiktorya
Frania (Franciszka), daughter of Antoni and Wiktorya
Adam (Adaś) B., Frania's husband
Marysia Kozłowska, Jan's wife

Julka (Julcia), Aleksander's wife
Uncle and Aunt Smentkowski, probably cousins of Antoni or Wiktorya
Antoni, their son
Anneczka (Anna, Anusia), Frania } their daughters

[68–138. Nos. 68–69 are to the authors from Jan Baranowski, in America, to whom most of the letters of the series are addressed. Nos. 70–106 are from Wiktorya Osińska in Poland to her sons in America. They are dictated to her daughter Frania, except as indicated in the notes. The name of the husband is associated with the mother's in signing, and he occasionally dictated a passage. Nos. 107–24 are from Frania. Their brevity and informality are due to her youth and to the fact that until her marriage she inclosed them with the letters dictated to her by her mother. Nos. 125–28 are from Michał; Nos. 129–38 from Aleksander.]

68 November 23, 1914

RESPECTED SIR: I, signed below, found in the *Dziennik Związkowy* your advertisement that whoever has letters from the old country should send them to your address to demonstrate the nature of the Polish people. I have more than 100 letters from my parents and my wife's parents and from my dear brother who has perhaps already given his spirit to God or lies wounded in some hospital or is a prisoner. But I ask you whether it is true that, as your advertisement says, I shall receive 10 to 20 cents for each letter and that these letters will be returned. For they have a value for myself to keep, because when this unhappy war is over, I have money to get or this farm to take. . . . . So I beg you for a written answer and for better information: (1) Shall I receive the reward as advertised and how much? (2) Shall I get the letters back? I beg you to send me a guaranty, for should I lose these letters, I should prefer not to have this reward at 20 cents each. . . . .

JAN BARANOWSKI

69 December 7, 1914

RESPECTED SIR: I received your letter, ... and after reading it I commit myself to your generosity. . . . . I send you the letters which I have. . . . . These letters from my parents are very good and detailed with regard to your demand. Most of them are from the time of the Japanese war and during the bloody troubles until two

years before the actual bloody tragedy which no pen can describe and no reason embrace. What my dear fatherland, and my parents and sister and brother are suffering! My brother is perhaps already murdered, and even perhaps my dear parents who longed so much for me and wanted to see me once more. When I prepared these letters to be sent to you, I read a few of them and I wept bitter tears and thought thus: "Perhaps they are the last." So I beg you very much to send them back to me in totality, for I want to keep them in remembrance. And also, as I wrote you in my preceding letter, I have an inheritance [in cash] or a farm to get, if this accursed war is calmed. . . . .[1]

JAN BARANOWSKI

70 September 9, 1901

"Praised be Jesus Christus."

DEAR SON: I received your letter . . . . and I am glad that you are healthy and that you got happily through. As to Antoni, we learned two weeks ago that he was stopped in Otloczyn [as having trachoma]. First his mother learned it and came to me crying and said that they would surely spoil his eyes [in trying to cure them] or he would die.[2] But I persuaded her that there are surely more [patients], and their eyes don't get spoiled, so his won't be either.

Now I inform you, dear son, about our health. Your father was ill, he had some pains inside, and I had to manage the harvesting alone. I hired 3 men to reap and 4 women to rake, and 3 more men to build. As to the building, dear son, it was so: When you left, the

[1] The letters are to be used as evidence of his claims. The connection of sentiment and business is not felt to be improper and does not hinder the reality of the sentiment. In the same way, death of a member of the family hardly interrupts the usual home occupations of the other members. The material side of life has originally nothing of the "low" character which it acquires later by antithesis to the higher moral, religious, intellectual, aesthetic, interests. For the peasant it is a part of the essential human task to support life and to fight against death. The most trifling practical affairs may assume in this light a character of solemnity, almost sanctity. Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

[2] The peasant occupies the habitudinal standpoint, and everything seems possible to him outside of his normal conditions and known environment. The lack of continuity and proportion between cause and effect in general does not permit the prevision and limitation of the effects of a given cause. This attitude is particularly strong with regard to the government. Cf. Introduction: "Social Environment"; "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

building stopped for 2 weeks. I could not sit in this [new] house at all from sorrow,[1] as if half of the people in the village were dead and you were dead also. In the 3d week the carpenter worked alone with your father for 2 days. . . . . And in the fourth week the carpenter worked 3 days with Adam. And in the fifth and sixth weeks the carpenter, the mason and 4 men worked. Your father's work was such [of as little worth] as when you were here. I finished the work with these men on the last day of August. This whole work, harvest and building, cost us 25 roubles, besides the carpenters and yourself, dear son. . . . . And all this building, as we calculated, will cost us about 700, and still it won't be finished before next year, for we don't wish to make big debts. We sold the horse for 34 roubles, and father sold the pigs for 50 roubles and now we must also sell the cow and the calf.[2] Now, dear son, I don't know what to do with your clothes, whether I shall keep them or give them to your father to wear.[3] You wrote me, dear son, to hire somebody to dig the potatoes, and you would pay for it. May God reward you for your promise! I cannot thank you [reward you] in any other way, except by these words. Michałek gave me also a rouble for my dress. May our Lord Jesus grant you health and pay you with Heaven for your good heart. . . . .

[WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA]

71 November 12, 1901

. . . . DEAR SON: . . . . The carpenter finished his work on the day before St. Michael, and your father drove him to the town and we moved into the house with our beds and our cooking. The remaining furniture is still left in the barn. . . . . All is now finished except the white-washing and the stairs. . . . . It cost us 1,000 roubles in all. [Weather; acquaintances.]

[1] Because the son had worked at the building of the house.

[2] It would seem quite simple to give a mortgage and in this way cover the cost of the house. But for the peasant this is logically impossible. The house belongs to the class of movable property, like the horse, the pig, or the cow, as against land property. It is an inferior kind of property. And mortgage would destroy the social value of land, the highest class of property. To give a mortgage in order to build a house would be, in the peasant's eyes, an action like that of selling a valuable horse or cow in order to have good time on the money.

[3] Clothes do not constitute property in the proper sense, but, like food, belong to the objects of consumption owned primarily by the family, only secondarily by the individual. Cf. Introduction: "Economic Attitudes."

Now I thank you heartily for the shoes which you bought me [before going away]. They are so comfortable that I can walk as far as I need without feeling that I have anything on my feet. Whenever I put them on I always remember you with tears. . . . .[1] I am very glad that everybody acknowledges that you are very good. May our Lord God grant you not to be spoiled in America! May you always be good, first toward God and toward God's Mother, then toward us, your parents, and toward all men, as you have been up to the present. Amen.[2]

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

72 December 22, 1901

. . . . DEAR, BELOVED SON: . . . . We were glad on receiving your letter, but we were not glad that, although you know how to write, you describe very little of your condition. You did not even write why you could not come back to our country if you married her. But probably they considered you a good man [appreciated you] only as long as they did not profit from your work.[3] So I thought myself, and when Michał came and read this letter, he said the same, that you would have a good Christmas-gift [in the woman]! We said to each other, I and Michał, that you were in the army and you did not write us the truth even then [how ill he felt], but although you did not write us the truth, still we guessed it. Certainly now you don't write us the truth either. It would be much better if you earned a little money, came back to our country and got married here. We [Michał and I] spoke so before parting. And moreover, we advise you, we your parents, if you have any money earned, send it to us, for here it won't be lost; we will put it in the savings-bank. But if you

[1] She is probably not accustomed to wearing shoes regularly. The habit of going barefoot is very persistent, mainly for economy. Shoes are in many localities worn only on Sunday. And often when going to church or to a fair the peasants (particularly women) carry their shoes and put them on only when approaching the church or town.

[2] The original obligatory familial and communal solidarity is here already treated as moral goodness and put into relation with the religious idea. This is the state of things which we have studied in the Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

[3] The girl's parents probably first agreed to give her to him unconditionally because they wanted to borrow money from him. When they got it, they made the condition that he should not take her from America. Wiktorya supposes that in general they have changed their behavior toward him after having got money.

keep it with you you will always find friends who will want to borrow it from you and will want to get you married. Moreover, they could steal it from you, as [was done] in the army. [Greetings and New-Year wishes.]

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

73 January 3, 1902

DEAR SON: . . . . We thank you nicely for the 10 roubles. You wrote us, dear son, that we might make [from this money] a better Christmas tree [instead of the word "tree" a tree is roughly drawn by the sister who writes this letter] and make ourselves merry during the holidays. I should be much merrier if you came here. . . . . This money has been of use to us, for we were owing 8 roubles to the carpenter, so your father gave them back at once. He brought 2 roubles home. Of these two we gave 8 złoty [1 rouble, 20 copecks] for a holy mass, and the rest we took for our Christmas festival. Father says so [to you]: "Economize as much as you can so that no one [of your creditors] may drum at your windows when you come back." If our Lord Jesus allows us to get rid of our debts, we shall remember you, for our debts amount to 70 roubles. If God grants us health in this New Year we hope to pay them back, for last year there were only expenses, and no income at all.

Now inform us whether you are near a church, and whether you have already been in it a few times, and how is the divine service celebrated, whether there are sermons and teachings like those in our country. And inform me how do you like America, whether you like it as much as our country. Describe everything, for it is difficult for me [to write you long letters], since I cannot write myself to you. [Wishes for the New Year.] Now I admonish you, dear son, live in this New Year honestly and religiously, for I pray our Lord Jesus for you every day, when going to bed and rising. . . . .[1]

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

The candle burned down, the ink is out, the pen broke, the letter is ended. [Pleasantry by Frania.]

[1] The mother's prayers are a reason for the son's living honestly and religiously, because by those prayers she helps him to become a member of the divine community and he ought not to break the harmony which she has established between him and God. Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

74 March 18, 1902

DEAR SON: . . . . Your last letter grieved us very much, when we learned that you were sick. Particularly I, as your mother, wept, thinking who cared for you in this illness, you orphan! When we are ill, we nurse one another, while you are always alone in the wide world. But I remembered and I sighed at once [in prayer], that you had still a Father in Heaven and a Mother who guards orphans.

Now I inform you, dear son, that I was also sick with colic for two weeks. For the first week I could do nothing, so that your father had the organist come and he applied 12 cupping-glasses. Then I felt somewhat better, but still for a week I could not work. And during my sickness Legoski came for money, for he was going to America. . . . . But not only we had no money, there was not even anyone to prepare a good dinner for him, a suitable one. We had 10 roubles, for we got 30 for the cow and we paid Radomski 20 back. So we gave him these 10 roubles. Your father would have gone and borrowed more, but he did not wish it . . . . and he said that perhaps you would send some for Easter, then your father would give it back to his wife. . . . . Then we sold the calf and got 12½ which we paid to your aunt Smentkowska. Then we sold the pig and gave Skunieczny 10 and Szymańska 5. We left 5 for the tax and for Easter. We are still owing 12 to your uncle, 6 to Pazik, 6 to Mr. Krajewski; these are the debts which we still have. And then we lack many things for the house, which we reckon as about 30 roubles. And you know, dear son, that this year is bad, you have seen yourself that the crops were not abundant, so we can sell no grain.

Here your father speaks to you: "If our Lord God grants you health, economize as much as you can and send [your debt] back, that they [your creditors] may not come to us so often. Were it not for the building and for our own debts we should have paid this debt for you."

You asked who died. . . . . In Trombin the organist's wife [or widow?] whom you knew, is dead. . . . . There are 8 children left and the ninth [girl] is in America. When these orphans began to weep at the churchyard during the funeral, all the people began to weep and even the priest wept and could not make the speech. [Information about marriages, weather.]

You ask about Michał. He has a strong wish to go to America, but father won't let him go before the military service, for he has

only 2 years to wait and he will be called during the third [and if he does not go when called, he will never be able to return to his country]. . . . .

And now I beg you, dear son, if you intend to enter into such a state as Antoni did [get married], don't look at her dresses, but esteem only whether she loves our Lord Jesus. Then she will respect you also. . . . .[1] On the same day when I received this letter from you the parents of Antoni's girl came to his parents . . . . and there was joy such as if all of you came back from America. But they visited us also and are very agreeable people, particularly her mother. They invited his parents and they invited us for the holidays, so on Sunday after Easter they [the uncle and aunt, Antoni's parents] will go, and your father is to go with them, but I probably shan't go, for there is nobody to take my place at home in my household. . . . .[2]

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

75 May 25, 1902

DEAR SON: . . . . You asked me to send you one *gomółka* [small home-made cheese]. When they read it to me, I laughed. It is true that I had none when she left [a cousin going to America], but if she would have taken it, I would have found one. So instead of cheese I send you a godly image—you will have a token—and from every member of the family I send you a small medal. When you receive this image, kiss it, that it may bless you in your work and your health and guard you against a mortal sin. . . . .[3] Michał sends you a package of tobacco and Aleksander a package of cigarettes. . . . .

You wrote to your father asking, what he would send you. Well, he sends you these words: "Remember always the presence of God,

[1] The expression of the norm of respect instead of love as fundamental in marriage-relations, and at the same time the connection between religious life and family life.

[2] The invitation for the holidays is a proof that the relation between the writer and her husband on one side, the parents of their nephew's wife on the other, is a familial relation, although it is a mixed blood- and law-relation of the fourth and fifth degree.

[3] Both the image and the medals are consecreted; if therefore the first has a particular magical value, while the medals are treated merely as family-tokens, it is evidently because of the particular *intention and desire* of the mother to let the image have a magical influence. Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

and when we shall stand before the last judgment you will calmly wait for the holiest sentence." Now I send you other words: "Work and economize as much as you can; I won't take [the fortune] into the grave with me. When you are not able to work longer [in America], then I will divide [the fortune] among you. And God guard us against a sudden death. Amen."[1]

I can send you nothing more, dear son except my heart. If I could take it away from my breast and divide it into four parts, as you are four whom our Lord Jesus keeps for me still [besides those who are dead], I would give a part to every one, from love. . . . . [Wishes and greetings.]

[WIKTORYA and ANTONI OSIŃSKI]

76 July 29, 1902

DEAR SON: . . . . I inform you now that on July 1, there was a terrible storm. The lightning struck in 3 places in our village, but, thanks to God, without damage, for only in trees and in the stream. But do you know Betlejeski in Lasoty? Well, lightning struck him dead and burned his house, and beyond Rypin a man was killed. This storm lasted for 3 hours; it lightened continually.

The crops are good this year, but it is difficult to harvest them, for it rains often. . . . . We ask you now, dear son, to inform us how long do you intend to be in America, for about America bad rumors are spreading, that it is to sink in, and even priests order us to pray for those who are in America. [Referring to the eruption in Martinique.] Now I inform you, dear son, what accidents happen in our country. Two men were going away to America; one of them had money and was to pay for the other and for himself, but the one who had no money killed him. They were even brothers-in-law and *kums*. And in Ostrowite also a man killed another.[2] May this be a lesson for you, my dear son, not to believe too much and not to be overconfident in friendship. . . . .

[WIKTORYA]

[1] Perfectly typical father's harangue. Cf. the address of the mother immediately following. As to the familial standpoint of the father and the more personal standpoint of the mother, cf. Introduction: "The Family."

[2] The spirit of the letter is like that of the mediaeval chronicles. The news is evidently derived from verbal rumors.

77 October 27, 1902

DEAR SON: . . . . As to your wish, we agree with it, if you think that your lot will be better. You cannot always live so lonely, so we, as your parents, permit you [to marry] and give you our parental blessing. May our Lord God, God's Mother and all the Saints bless you! We beg Him most heartily that He will grant you, your dear wife, her parents and all of us health and His blessing.[1] This we wish you with our parental heart.

And we inform the parents of your wife that they can be willing, for you have been always very good to us, obedient in everything that can be expected from a child, so we guarantee that it will be so later on. And not only we, but all the people of the whole village, can gladly testify that you are from a good house[2] and of good conduct.

WIKTORYA and ANTONI OSIŃSKI

78 July 29, 1903

. . . . DEAR SON: . . . . We are late with the answer but on Sunday I was with Aleksander at the parish festival in Obory, for he joined the Scapulary Fraternity,[3] and on week-days we had no time, for we harvested. We received the money in June and at once father paid the debts. . . . . You wrote us, dear son, to take a maid-servant,

[1] The future wife and her parents are thus taken at once into the family-group by making them share the expected effects of the blessing, whose object is the family.

[2] The presupposition that the origin of a man is a guaranty of his character. The same presupposition which allows a man in America to bring over a girl whom he does not know but whose family he knows.

[3] Religious fraternities are a very old institution; we find them in the earliest mediaeval traditions. They are of two types—with and without a social end. The first exists mainly in towns, and develops mutual insurance (sickness, burial expenses, dowry, widowhood) and philanthropic activity (help to the poor, nursing in hospitals). In the country the merely religious form prevails, as there is less occasion for mutual insurance, and philanthropic activity remains familial or individual. The members gather periodically for common prayers and adoration, and perform determined functions during solemn divine services. At a solemn mass they kneel in the middle of the church with burning candles; at a procession they carry feretories [moving altars], standards, candles; they do the same during the funeral of a member. Most of them develop choral singing. They are named according to their particular religious purpose, object, and means of their adoration—fraternities of the Holiest Sacrament, Rosary fraternities, Scapulary fraternities, and those of particular saints.

but the worst is that there is none to be found; they all go to America. Probably we shall manage alone until you come back. Aleksander can already help me in the heaviest work, he can already reach the sheaves to the cart and then pull them back [into the barn], and Frania also works as she can. So instead of sending money for the servant, if you have any, send them a little for *okrężne*.[1] Then they will be still more willing to work, and when you come back we shall give you whatever we can. . . . . Father was ill for a week; now he has already recovered. . . . . I was so grieved, for father lay ill, and Michałek was on the journey—such is my luck, that I am always at work and in grief. Such my life has been and such it will probably be up to the end.[2]

As to Michał, we tried by all means to persuade him not to go, particularly I told him about his journey, how it would be, and that he would be obliged to work heavily. But he always answered that he is ready to work, but he wants to get to America and to be with you. Now I beg you, dear son, if he is in grief [homesick], comfort him as much as you can and care for him. You wrote me, dear son, not to grieve about you, but my heart is always in pain that we are not all together or at least all in our country, that we might visit one another. . . . . You asked us how many years there are since we

[1] Festival after the harvest. In some localities called "dożynki." It is one of the oldest pagan traditions. The word is used sometimes, as here, for the extra reward which the proprietor gives after a successful harvest.

[2] The pessimistic view expressed here and in many other letters, is particularly frequent whenever the peasant begins to *reflect* upon his life. On the contrary, in *practice* he is usually very optimistic, he expects that in some undetermined way his action will have the desired effect even if rationally there seem to be no sufficient natural causes to produce this effect. Both the pessimism of reflection and the optimism of practice are rooted in the same attitude as the magical beliefs; the peasant does not give sufficient attention to the continuity between cause and effect. In his opinion a determined fact may produce another fact even if he does not see in what way this is possible, provided only those facts seem in some way connected with each other. So long as he is acting, he is inclined to hope against all probability; when he begins to reflect, the same insufficient analysis of the process of causation makes him fear also against all probability. (Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes," and note to No. 70.) There is also another reason why the old-type peasants tend to emphasize unconsciously in their reflection the evil as against the good; it is the lack of any idea of advance. The modern type of peasant, with his strong tendency to climbing, is much more optimistic. Finally, as we shall see later, the peasant often complains insincerely. But here the attitude is evidently sincere.

were married. Well, only the 24th year is going, since January. [Greetings.] And care for Michałek.

[WIKTORYA]

79 November 20, 1903

DEAR SON: . . . . We received your letter . . . . but we were not very glad, first because you wrote that Michał had been ill without saying with what, and second, because you wrote that we don't care for you at all. You err much in saying so. . . . . We could not send you the photograph for your name-day, because father was ill. We promised to send it on St. Michael's day, but we had no time, for the harvest lasted up to autumn, for first the weather was bad, and then in autumn it was fair; then we dug the potatoes. Afterward father brought fuel and plowed what was necessary for winter, and Aleksander went to earn for his winter suit and boots, and we both [mother and daughter] worked industriously, and kept the stock. [Stock sold; debts paid; no money left.] It is easy for you to say that we don't care for you or begrudge a few złoty for this photograph! In America nobody comes to you and calls: "Lend me money, for I have nothing to live," or, "Give me my money back." You wrote that you did not work for 7 weeks. But we must always work, like worms. [Greetings, Christmas wishes.]

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

[Inclosed with the preceding letter.] . . . . Now I, your sister, did not forget you yet. I send you this flower as a token for these solemn holidays of Christmas, and I divide the wafer with you. [Wishes]. As to mother, don't write it ever again, that mother does not care about you for we can never reward mother for all these tears which she sheds. . . . . More than once I have tried to comfort her, when mother weeps that you are not in this country. . . . .

[FRANIA]

80 May 17, 1904

DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We received your letter . . . . together with the photograph. We were very glad, so that we even wept from joy. You wrote, dear son, that you had a sad Easter, for you did not see your parents. I had also [sad holidays].[1] When I arranged

[1] Holidays are always occasions on which there is a revival of familial feelings, and traditionally the whole family ought to meet.

the *święcone*,[1] I sat at the stove, and thought that there was nobody to make a *święcone* for you, and I wept. You wondered, dear children, why I look so sickly [in the photograph]. But you also look sickly and sad. Not only we say so, but all those who have seen you. Everybody wonders particularly about Janek, who looked fatter and merrier on the other photograph. Some people envy us that you write so often and that on every holiday you send something, either money or a photograph—that you don't forget about your parents. . . . .

Now we inform you about our farming. We had 4 horses; we sold one of them and got 50 roubles, for they were sick. We have 2 cows, 2 calves and a young cow, one year old, and more than 20 bee-hives. Father has sowed rape for them, and now it blossoms; and there is such a humming as if somebody were playing an accordeon. Now I inform you about the crops. Rye is nice up to the present; summer grains are nice above, but it has been too wet below, for it rains often. This year is like the last one; up to the present some people have not planted the potatoes, for they cannot plow, but we planted and sowed everything, thanks to God and to God's Mother. . . . .

[WIKTORYA]

81 June 26, 1904

. . . . Now I inform you about the misfortune which befell your aunt and uncle Smentkowski. On June 25 lightning struck Anneczka [their daughter] and killed her and the Zwoleński child. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon she was sitting near the kitchen stove and your aunt was standing near holding the child. The lightning came in through the chimney and went out through both windows, but thanks to God, it did not burn the house. So we beg you, and they also, for the love of God inform their whole family [the children in America] about it, and ask them, that someone among the four of them come. They are old and cannot work. Moreover, your aunt is often sick, and

[1] On Easter all kinds of food which the peasant uses during the year are consecrated by the priest. The consecration, by a magical symbolism, is supposed to sanctify and purify any food of the same kind which the family will eat till the following Easter. The custom is connected with the old pagan spring festival. Easter eggs are also consecrated and form an indispensable part of the *święcone*. At the same time, there is a connection with fasting: Lent ends on Easter, and the first meat, dairy, and alcoholic drink after the fasting must be consecrated before being consumed.

what will now happen after such a misfortune! . . . . Your aunt could not write from grief, and we can write no more, for tears drown our eyes. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

If I wrote you badly, excuse me, for my hands trembled from all this.

[FRANIA]

82 July 21, 1904

DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . Now we inform you in what way the Zwoleński child was killed. It was so. The Smenkowskis came from the field and the uncle remained in the garden, while the aunt and Andzia [Anneczka] came back home and brought firewood. The aunt took Zwoleńska's child for it wanted to go to her. Zwoleńska wished later to take it, but it did not want to go to her, so your aunt took it and they went into their house, and Zwoleńska into her house. Your aunt sat down near the table with the child, and Anneczka sat down near the stove, and when the lightning struck, it killed both Anneczka and the child. Your aunt alone remained alive and called to Anneczka, telling her to go away, or she would be burned. Immediately your uncle ran into the room and people gathered. They took Anneczka and the child and dug them into the earth, but they did not awaken. And now I explain to you in what a manner the Zwoleńskis were there [the Z's were manor-servants, and had to live in manorial buildings]. They lived first in the *ośmioraki* [long house for 8 families]; there they could not come to an understanding with their neighbors, and got a lodging in the *czworaki* [house for 4 families]. They had lived there hardly a week when the *czworaki* burned down; but they did not lose many things, for people came and saved them. . . . . Thence they moved to the same house where the Smenkowskis live. And I inform you about the burial, how uncle had her buried. It cost him 20 roubles [to the priest]. The priest went to meet the procession, boys brought her to the church, and there she stood upon a catafalque during the whole holy mass. Thence the priest led and church-servants brought her to the cemetery. There were many people, for she was in a [religious] fraternity and bore the flag [during processions]. Everybody wept, for she was liked and respected. But your uncle did not regret any expenses, saying that this was her dowry. . . . .

You asked whether Antoni would be exempted from military service as a guardian [of his old parents]. Now, during the war, no exemption is valid. Your uncle would be glad to see them [Antoni and wife] if they came to work, for he is already weak; but should Antoni come back and go again to another country [to the Japanese war], they would be still more grieved.

Whoever of them is to come let him come the soonest possible, for now there is continuous work. And perhaps the aunt would sooner forget Anusia [if she had another child with her]. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

[Letter of July 21 contains further details about the death and funeral of Anneczka and the child.]

83 September 24, 1904

. . . . DEAR SON: . . . . We are very glad that you are in good health and that you succeed well, so that you even want to take us to America. But for us, your parents, it seems that there is no better America than in this country. Your father says that he is too weak and sickens too often. I should be glad to see you, but it is impossible to separate ourselves in our old age. I have also no health; particularly my arms are bad . . . . and you wrote that in America one must work hard, and often cannot get work even if he wants it, while here we have always work and we can hire somebody to do the heavy labor. You wrote me, dear son, that you will send me a gift. I was very glad, not so much because of the gift as because of your good heart. . . . .

Dear son, when I learned from your letter and from Frania [Smentkowska] that you love reading, I was gladder than if you had sent me a hundred roubles.[1] May our Lord God bless you further, may God's Mother of Częstochowa cover you with her mantle from every evil and every misfortune.

Now, dear sons, I inform you that I want to let Frania learn dressmaking, for she respects her parents and is obedient, and secondly,

[1] Interesting appreciation for seemingly devoid of any idea of the practical application of learning which is so emphasized in the movement for instruction carried on by the newspapers. Back of this appreciation is probably the idea that reading keeps one away from mischief and denotes a seriousness of character.

because she is too weak for heavy work. Although it will cost us, yet if we live, we must leave her at least such a token. . . . .[1]

Your aunt and uncle and Frania [Smentkowska's cousin] greet you, and they greet their own children. Auntie says that Antosia ought to remember her mother's old age and send her [money] for a warm dress for winter. . . . .

WIKTORYA OSIŃSKA

84 November 8, 1904

. . . . DEAR SON: . . . . You wrote about a church-certificate, but we don't know which one you wanted. Father got your birth-certificate. Is it good or not? And as to my family, about which you wanted to learn, our priest says that in his records there is nothing, but we must go to the mayor of the commune. Your father will do it when he finds time. Dear son, you say that it is well if everybody knows about his family for many years [past]. But only those people can know whose parents live long, while I was 4 years old when my parents died. How can I know anything about my family?[2] I asked your aunt, but she does not know either. She says only that some years ago a paper from Prussia came, that some money there was owed to us, some family-inheritance. But there was nobody to go for it, and your uncle did not wish to go, for he said that perhaps it was not worth going for.

You wrote, dear son, that probably we shall not see one another any more. We were very grieved, and particularly I was. But we

[1] This desire to give the girl technical instruction already involves a modification of the primitive economic attitudes; the individual is no longer conceived as exclusively dependent upon the family, familial property ceases to be the only basis of individual existence, and there is a tendency to advance along the line of an improvement of work and income, not merely of an increase of property. (Cf. Introduction: "Economic Attitudes.") But the whole attitude is still evidently new, for the technical instruction is conceived as a gift, justified by exceptional circumstances.

[2] We have here a good proof that the peasant family is essentially only an actual social group, and does not depend upon the remembrance of the preceding generations, as does the noble European family (heraldic continuity) or the ancient Roman family (cult of the spirits of the ancestors). The ancestry is traced only as far as the actual, real connection between the living members requires. (Cf. Introduction: "The Family.") In the present case the son's demand is clearly felt as strange; he is influenced either by the idea of the noble family (probably drawn from his reading), or by economic considerations—the hope of getting some unexpected inheritance.

should grieve still worse if you had to go to this bloodshedding. And perhaps we shall see one another yet, if they annoy us further [for we shall go to America]. Already they have raised the taxes, and now it is said that they will take the cows; whoever has four will have only one left. . . . .[1] You wrote, dear son, that you and Michał listen much to each other. I am very glad. Nothing could make me so glad as this. . . . .

[Osińskis]

As to Michałek, we don't write to him, for he does not write to us either, as if he had forgotten us.

85 December 18, 1905

. . . . Dear Son: . . . . You ask about Frania, how much her learning and living will cost. When we sent her there, we agreed upon 55 roubles, but now she only dines there, and buys breakfast and supper herself, so we don't know how much we shall pay. She learns with the daughter of Brunkowski, who was manager of the estate of Gulbiny 30 years ago and lives now in Dobrzyń. . . . .

And Frania, how clever and cunning she is! When I persuaded her that [her learning] would cost us much, and that I did not learn, she said that I had no parents, while she has and she wants to have some token from them.

Now I advise you to marry, so perhaps you will be happier, as Antoni and other people are. . . . .[2]

[Wiktorya]

86 February 6, 1906

. . . . Dear Son [Michał]: . . . . We received the money today . . . . and we thank you kindly and heartily for this money, we your parents, your brother, and also I your sister, for most of it is destined for me [Frania]. . . . .

I came to our parents on February 2, and I learned that many young men come, but the girls don't seem to want them, and probably there will be no marriage this year.[3] Cousin Frania [Smentkowska]

[1] Anything may be expected of the government. Cf. note to No. 70, and Introduction: "Social Environment."

[2] He evidently did not marry the girl mentioned in No. 77.

[3] Marrying assumes often an epidemical character in a village or parish. There comes a year when, without any apparent reason, the number of weddings assumes an astonishingly high proportion; then again, as in the present case, the

says that she won't marry until you come back. And I inform you, dear brother, that I am learning embroidery, and it goes on pretty well. Now I have no time to write more for I must go back to Dobrzyń. . . . .

[FRANIA]

87 February 18, 1906

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . You write us to sell [our property] and to go to you. We should be very glad to see you, if even only a few days before our death, but perhaps you heard yourself how difficult it is now to be admitted, particularly for old people. It is true that here we must work heavily, and [get cash] only for taxes and fuel, and even this is difficult to get. But your father persuades us that if we sold it and then were not admitted [to America], we should then have no place to go. Then we say that, if even only two of us went [one of the parents with one child], the two remaining would not be able to do all the work and the longing would be still greater. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

[Letter of one page, March 6, requests the children "not to travel so much about America, as it is a spending of money and some accident might happen." Also that they receive the newspaper Gazeta Swiąteczna at home and preserve the copies.]

88 May 24, 1906

. . . . DEAR SON: You wrote us that you intend to marry and you asked us for our blessing. We send it to you. May our Lord God help you, and God's Mother of Częstochowa, and all the saints. It is very sad for us that we cannot be at your wedding, but let God's will be done. But we are anxious whether you have met a good girl, for it happened already that one man from Gulbiny wrote how he got married [in America]. He lived for only a year with her, for she stole his whole fortune and went, nobody knows where. I thank you for your flowers; we adorned half the house with them, and when I come into the room and look at them, I shed tears.

[WIKTORYA]

Now, dear brother, I send you a little tobacco. I had no time to send it to your wedding, so at least I want it to come to your name-

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marriage season (December–February) passes without a single wedding. The reason seems to be imitation, or rather a certain common attitude developed among the boys or girls during a given period—a kind of fashion.

day. And I beg you, send me the watch, for you don't need it now any more.

[ALEKSANDER]

89 October 29, 1906

. . . . DEAR SON [Michał]: . . . . We received your letter. . . . . We are glad that you are in good health for we thought that you all were dead [allusion to their not writing]. You had written, dear son, that you would write us something curious, so we waited impatiently thinking that perhaps you were already journeying home. . . . . So now when we read this letter of yours we were very much grieved, for we remember you ten times a day and it is very painful to us that you evidently forget us. Dear son, since you did not come, surely we shan't see one another in this world, for this year a penalty was established, that if anybody who belongs to the army [who is of the age to be called] went away, his father must pay big money for him, and when he comes back after some years, he must serve his whole time in the disciplinary battalion. This is a still greater penalty than for these reservists who went away before the war, for these have only 2 months of prison or 300 roubles to pay. The punishment is not so severe, for Cieszeński [a reservist who did not come from America until after the war] has even earned 7 roubles during this time [of prison].[1]

Dear son, you write that you are getting on well enough. Thanks to God for this, but we beg you, we your parents, not to forget about God, then God won't forget about you. It is very hard for us that we cannot see you. More than once we shed bitter tears that we have brought you up and now we cannot be with you. . . . . May we at least merit to be in heaven together. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

[1] Prison for offenses against the state, for violation of police ordinances, and in general for offenses which do not imply the condemnation of social opinion is not considered a serious punishment except for the loss of time. Prison for slight administrative offenses can usually be converted into fine, but the peasant always chooses prison. A curious incident characterizing the peasant's attitude toward the Russian state occurred four years ago in a commune of the province of Piotrków. When the district chief of that commune proposed to the peasants to contribute a certain sum toward the expenses involved in the celebration of the jubilee of the imperial family, there was some hesitation. Finally an old peasant, after some talk with the others, stepped forward and said, "Could we not sit instead?"

90 April 26, 1908

DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We received your letter and the post-notification on Good Friday evening when we came back from the passion [service commemorating the sufferings of Jesus]. So we read only about your health, for we were very tired for it rained the whole week, even on Sunday morning. So we read your letter only on the first day of Easter, after the divine service, and only then we learned the rest.[1] At once Aleksander went on the third day for the tokens [holy images, etc.] and got them. We thank you heartily. May our Lord God reward you. We are glad, dear children, that you remember about God. Thank you once more for these tokens and for your letter so nicely written.

Dear children, you write that you think about taking Aleksander to America. But we and our work, for whom would it be left? You would all be there and we here. While if he goes to the army for 3 years and God keeps him and brings him happily back, he would help us as he does now. Well, perhaps Frania could remain upon this [the farm]; but even so we could see him no more [forever, if he escaped military service]. Moreover, now whole throngs of people are coming back from America . . . . and the papers write that it won't be better, but worse. And about this army [service] we don't know yet how it will be, for it is intended to have a communal decision—when the chief of the district asks. So if the Gulbinaks answer that Michałek is not there and does not write, he [Aleksander] could perhaps be exempted. But if people say that sometimes he [Michałek] sends news of himself, then nothing can be done, for though he does not write himself, Ulecka wrote to your uncle that he was there, and your uncle does not give the letters to us at home to read but goes to Lisiecki, so that everybody learns at once. . . . .[2]

[OSIŃSKIS]

[1] The fact shows how difficult and important a matter are the reading and writing of letters with the peasant. This must be kept in mind if we are to appreciate how much familial attachment is implied in frequent letter-writing, and how the peasants themselves consider the frequency and length of letters a sign of this attachment.

[2] As in Russia the number of recruits needed is less than the number of young men of eligible age, there are different kinds of exemption. A man is exempted when he is an only son, or when he is the oldest son and his father is at an age when he is supposed not to be able to support his family. A certain number is also exempted because of defective health, and out of the remainder a number, fixed for

91 November 15, 1908

DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We are late with our answer, for we have waited [to see] what will become of Aleksander. Now it is decided that he must serve. On December 1, they will go away. Father could do nothing, for the officials with whom he tried to settle the matter went away and others came, and now there is another mayor, and when the decision was made at the communal meeting the Gulbinaks [inhabitants of Gulbiny] said that Michałek is alive and writes. Particularly your uncle Smentkowski said it. Then no exemption was possible; it would cost big money and even so it would not be certain. It will be very hard for us without him, for you know, dear children, that we are no longer young. It will be very painful for us to be alone, but we cannot help it. At least we are glad that you succeed well enough, as you inform us. We beg you heartily, don't forget about us, but write as often as you can, for it is particularly painful for me and I shed tears more than once. I have had so many troubles with you, I bred you, and now in my old age, when I can work no more, you left me, all of you. . . . .

[WIKTORYA]

92 March 9, 1909

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: You write us that you are very much pained at our being alone, and that Janek intends to come to us. We should be very glad, but we don't wish you to have any losses through us, and we should grieve still more about Michałek if he remained there alone. Now you are two, so if—God forbid!—some sickness or accident happens, you can help each other. During this year we shall still manage alone, if our Lord God grants us health and life, for Frania will leave her sewing and will help, and Stanisław Ochocki, for whom your father carried bricks when he built his house, will help us also. As to the rest, we shall hire somebody from time to time, for a servant must now be paid much, and even so it is difficult to get

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each community beforehand, is selected by drawing lots. Thus in the place of each man exempted because of the family situation or health some other member of the commune must serve. And as the commune must certify that a young man ought to be exempted because of his family situation, evidently the members of the commune are not eager to exempt anyone without real reasons. Therefore the efforts to exempt Aleksander fail, for the commune knows that the old man has another son.

any, for everybody goes either to America, or to Prussia for season-work. And so we shall live this year alone, for we don't wish to get Frania married this year, although some [boys] have called on her already and begged [to be allowed to court her]. We are too sad now after Aleksander left us. Perhaps next year, if some good party appears, we won't oppose her marrying, lest she might complain about us later on. Then, if we cannot get on alone, and if it is impossible to find a good servant, we hope that you will help us [and come]. But now, if the work is better, earn for yourselves, and may our Lord God help you and bless you, and God's Mother of Częstochowa, our dear children!

Dear son Michałek, we are very glad that you have begun to occupy yourself with farming [literally: country-housekeeping] and that you succeed pretty well, since you keep so many young ones [poultry? rabbits?]. Frania envied your having so many and she had none. I was obliged to find some, and she will receive them as a gift from a man from Rypin. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

93 August 23, 1909

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . When we read your letters, we were very much grieved, but nothing can be done. We must submit to fortune. If you cannot come back to us we must find another way. Although it is painful, we must be pained for some time, if our Lord God allows us to live longer. We should not like to scatter our old bones about the world. Here we have worked for so many years, so we should be glad to rest here, on our fathers' soil.[1] And you work and find your own way as well as you can. May our Lord God help you, since, alas! we cannot be together, dear children. [Crops; weather.] You wrote us to send you tobacco and honey through Bendykowski. If he goes and if he will take it, we will send you some. Zygmunt K. from Trąbin took your address, but now it is impossible to believe everybody. Perhaps he will do as Zieleniak did.

[OSIŃSKIS]

[1] Typical arguments of old people against emigration. This attitude, however, gave way completely during the emigration fever to Brazil. People of seventy were seen going with their children and even inciting them to go. Two reasons may explain this difference. The emigrants were to settle in Brazil upon *land*, and, as it seems, almost all of these old emigrants to Brazil were manor-servants or parents of manor-servants, not farmers. In the same way the old Sękowskis (see that series) do not hesitate to go to America.

94 September 28, 1909

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: We wrote to you, but you would not come, so father is trying to get Aleksander back. It is hard for us to work, but we shall be obliged to get on as well as we can. But this is worse, that if he ends his military service, afterward he will be often called to the commune, and still further [to drill]. And there are rumors about a possible war, and Aleksander begs us to get him back, if we can. So father went to that official and told him that there is no news of Michał at all for some years. He told father to get a certificate, confirmed by the consul, that Michał was lost somewhere. So I, your father, wanted to ask your advice, dear children, and particularly yours, dear son Janek, for you have been more in the world. Advise me, whether you could not get there such a certificate, for it would be very useful, for without any big cost he would be set free. I beg you very much, dear children, try to get it, if you can. And Michałek, if he wants to come back some day, could take a passport as an American. . . . .

[OSIŃSKIS]

95 December 9, 1909

. . . . DEAR SON: You write us that it is dangerous [the arrangement to get Aleksander out of the army]. When we reflected about the matter, we acknowledge that you are right and we thank you for your advice. Nothing can be done, such is evidently the will of God, for we can by no means have him exempted. Probably he must suffer his whole appointed time. If only Lord Jesus grants health to us and to him, perhaps we shall still live up to his return and he will help us. Could we only get a servant now! It is really hard for us to work alone. When your father walks a few steps he complains of his legs, and I have also pain in my arms and legs, and we must always work in the soil. [Crops; weather.]

Now, dear children, come the solemn holidays of Christmas. We are here, three of us, while you are there in distant foreign countries. But there is the same God, our best Father. So we commit you, dear children, and ourselves to His care, we are confident in his holiest will, and we hope that this Jesus born [on this day] will not desert you and will bless you, if you only love him. And we, on the occasion of this solemn commemoration, send you this wafer and we divide it with you, wishing you every good, and health. Dear children, spend

merrily these holidays and during this solemnity remember kindly your parents and your sister who longs for you. Oh, if we could see one another once more! May God grant it, Amen. [Typical Christmas wishes; less formal than usual.]

[Osińskis]

96 January 10, 1910

. . . . Dear Children: I, your father, write to you these few words. First, I inform you that Frania intends to marry after Easter, and on this occasion I ask you, whether you will also require your parts or any money. I suppose that you are somewhat better off, for you economized, i.e., earned some money, so perhaps you will bequeath it [your parts of the inheritance] to them, i.e., to Frania and Alos [Aleksander]. For if it came to sending this to you, it would not be worth while, for in American money it would be only a half. So I beg you very much, dear children, reflect and answer me, for I should like to have peace with you all before I die, that you might not disturb me [my will] later on, as it often happens. I am now weaker and weaker, I often fall sick, so I should like to die in peace, when this last hour comes. Now I inform you that I still try to get Aleksander free, but I don't know whether our Lord God will allow me to succeed in getting him out of this jaw. Now, dear children, we beg you once more, we your parents, inform us as soon as possible how you decide there. Then we would also know how do you advise Frania to do, for she had already some opportunities [to marry], rather good ones, but she knows how we despair about you, dear children, that we educated you and now we have none with us, so she lingered, wishing to be longer with us. . . . .[1]

[Osińskis]

[1] The letter is important for the understanding of the relation of family-life and the economic situation. The dominant factor in the father's attitude is the wish to assure the integrity of the farm after his death. In this wish a complex of various feelings is involved—the love of the farm as the object of his work; the complicated, not exclusively economic, but partly social idea of property; the idea of family as a continuity of generations, and the wish that his family may have in the future a standing in the village and community. (Cf. Cugowski series.) The situation is complicated by the fact that the farm is really the wife's property and that one son (Jan) is the old man's stepson, having therefore a particular moral right to the inheritance.

97 February 28, 1910

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . You ask us whether we could not send you about 2,000 roubles.[1] But it is true, dear children, that we have not so much money of our own, for you know yourselves that it is not so long ago since we built the house, and then we spent all our money and even made some debts. Later we economized [earned] some money but we built a barn, as we wrote you, and this cost also enough. Why, from 12 morgs there is not such a big income, and the expenses are different and many—taxes and fuel and various others. This year a priest's house and two schools will be built in our commune, so money will be continually required. We have still some money, but we are trying to get Aleksander free, and this year we have hired a servant, whom we must pay 30 roubles [a year]. He is 17 years old, but nevertheless it will be much easier for us. So we can send you nothing from our own money. We could perhaps get some money by borrowing, but at interest, and then if we could not pay it back they would sell our farm, as often happens. Moreover, you would receive only, so to speak, half the sum [in dollars], so it is not worth while. Therefore you must find your own way, dear children, as you can, for if you were here in our country, we would share our last copeck with you.[2] We thought, dear children, that you had paid everything, and we are very much pained that you still have trouble with your debts. And we cannot help you at all. You must forgive us this time, for it is already too difficult for us, old people. [Acquaintances; weather.]

Now we inform you that in our country a greater and greater movement spreads out. Everywhere shops [consumers' associations]

[1] The sum is the probable share of inheritance which the sons in America, both together, would have if the property were equally divided, as a good farm of twelve morgs is worth about 4,000 roubles.

[2] All the excuses are trifling. The expenses enumerated except the house, which was built nine years before, are really small. Borrowing money by mortgage is easy, on a very long term, and the difficulty of paying the interest is hardly real in peasant life. The old man wishes to preserve the familial property intact, and feels that in separating themselves from the family interests they have separated themselves from the right of participation in its property also. This shows that the mere sentimental connection between individuals, without an active group-organization, could never explain the family in its whole social reality. On the contrary, this sentimental connection is only a secondary effect of the group-solidarity, and remains after the group has disintegrated.

are set up, and agricultural circles. Well, and if somebody comes in a few years into our village he won't be able to recognize it. There is this brick-factory, so in one place they dig holes, in another again they cover holes, so that it is difficult to get to the lake where the mill was, and the forge is falling down, for they have dug under it. Mr. Piwnicki [the manor-owner] has now such a beautiful environment near his palace! The factory has been rented by the *dziedzic* [heir; estate-owner. Half-honorific title] from Trombin, and he established a telephone from Trombin to Gulbiny. Now a common store is set up, and they intend to build also a common bakery. Soon everything will be like in a town. Many people from our country intend to go to America. And another bit of news: a star with a tail, or a so-called comet, appeared in the sky, on the western side.[1]

Now we have nothing more of interest to write, only we wish you health and happiness. . . . . Remember, dear children, God and our holy faith and our beloved fatherland, then our Lord God will not leave you and will help you. . . . .

[Osińskis]

98 August 2, 1910

. . . . Dear Son [Jan]: We thank you for having written us so much news. It is a pleasure for us that you at least don't forget us and inform us that you are alive, for as to Michałek [if we depended on him], we should never know anything about you. It is very painful for us that a year has passed since he wrote us a few words with his own hand. Does he want to forget about us altogether? [Health, weather; harvest.]

And so everything is going on in the usual way. As to the news of the world, you know more than we do, dear children, though we also keep a paper and read different books. You write, dear son, that you long for your fatherland and would be glad to see it. Why, dear son, you can come back! Michałek cannot any more, but many such as you came back and nothing bad befel them. We should be glad also, dear children, to see you, but for us old people it is more difficult to drag our old bones about the world. So we ask you, dear children, if you intend to remain in America for many years still, you could visit us this winter. Many people come here for some time and then

[1] This news is evidently added to weaken the impression of the refusal to send money.

go back. We beg you heartily, dear children, come to us if you can, but don't wait till winter for now it is nicer here than in winter, and it would be merry for us. May God grant it to be accomplished!

[Osińskis]

99 December 5, 1910

. . . . Dear Children: We inform you that now we are alone, father and I [because Frania is married], and I am very sad and I don't care any more for this farm and household. Were it not for that water I would go at once into the world after you. I did not expect, dear children, that in my old age I should have to live alone in our house. I look at the walls around, I see you [pictures] which Frania hung there—but what! I cannot speak with you. I could still see Janek at any time, but I shan't probably see Michał in this world. . . . .

Now, dear children, we inform you about Frania. It is very painful for us to be without her. When he took her away, we all wept. But still they visit us and come to us often, and he is up to the present very polite to us. They wonder, for they sent you their photograph and have no answer yet. [Weather; Christmas wishes; greetings.]

[Wiktorya]

100 January 7, 1911

Dear Children: We thank you for your letter with the wafer. We pray to God that he may keep you in His guardianship, and since by His holiest will we must be separated far from one another, may He grant us to be again together, if not in this world, then to be happy in the other world.

I am very glad, dear children, that you are so well-disposed to one another. When Janek was in the army and wrote for money, Michałek always spoke for him, that we must send him some, and now Janek got easy work for him, and you agree also with one another. This rejoices us very much. And we beg you, inform us whether you have still much to pay for your house, and how are you getting on with your farming [probably only gardening and poultry-keeping]. . . . .

Now we inform you that together with your letter we got also a letter from Aloś. He comforts us [by saying] that he will be free in

October. May God grant us to live up to this time. [Weather.] We have spent the holidays alone. On the star-evening [Christmas eve] Frania and Adaś [the son-in-law] were with us, and then your mother went with them to the pastoral service [night-service on Christmas, called so in commemoration of the legendary shepherds]. When we are at church, we always visit them and they also visit us on Sunday afternoon, but on week-days we are alone, and we long for you and we remember you often. . . . .

Your loving parents,

[Osińskis]

[Letter of May 10, 1911, explaining again why they cannot go to America.]

101 June 17, 1911

. . . . Dear Children: We did not answer you at once, for we waited for the Radomski boy to come to us [from America]. But we have not seen him yet. I saw only Radomski, his father, who said that he had sore feet. But I learned almost nothing from his father, and it is difficult for me to be there, for we are now alone. Even our servant went to America, and now in the summer it is difficult to get another. Only Frania and Adaś visit us sometimes, and help us a little. So we did not learn anything, only Radomski mentioned something I was pained at, as he said Janek has learned to swear and does not respect his wife much. I don't know whether I ought to believe it, but if it is so, then, dear son, it is not very pleasant for me, your mother. . . . .

[Wiktorya]

102 February 17, 1912

The first words of our letter to you, dear children: "Praised be Jesus Christus." Then we inform you that we received your letter which found us in good health and success, and from which we learned about your dear health. This rejoiced us the most, dear children, when our Lord God gives you health. And it rejoiced us, dear son, that you wrote at such length in your letter about your success. May our Lord God help you the best possible and bless you for your further life. This we wish you, we your parents. And also Frania with her husband and little son sends you greetings and good wishes, and in

general all your relatives and acquaintances. May God grant it. Amen.[1]

[Osińskis]

103 February 6, 1913

Dear Son [Jan] and Daughter-in-law: . . . . I received your letter and I am very glad that you are in good health, but it is very disagreeable to me that you wrote such a complaining letter. My dear son, I beg you don't send me such letters, for happily I learned about this letter, got it myself and had it read, and I did not show this one sheet at all at home, for if they had received this letter, I should have much displeasure to bear from them, for your father and Aleksander would be very much pained. We received a letter also from Michałek, but he did not write wrongly and did not quarrel as you did, only he thanked and asked father to send him this money when he was able, and did not require more than that. Dear son, you say so [that it is too little?], and you count so dear this farm, but if you knew what expenses are now, larger and larger. Formerly it was possible to save much more money, for everything was not so expensive, and such large taxes were not collected. Now a priest's house, then a school was built, and for all, this money is collected from us, the farmers. Dear son, Aleksander must give us living and covering [clothes] and fuel costs 30 roubles a year . . . . and with his wife he did not get any big money either. He got what God helped him to, so now he must also spare in order to be able to exist. So don't imagine at all, dear children, that you have too small payments, for if you were here, dear son, you would know how great the expenses are, and you would not envy at all, for there is nothing to envy.

Now I beg you, don't answer this letter at all, for I wrote it only from myself; they don't even know it at all. When father sends you a letter, answer only then. . . . .

Your mother,

Wiktorya Osińska

Don't be angry, dear children, for my sending you this letter without stamp, but I had no money for it.

[1] An empty and perfunctory letter written by Aleksander in the name of his parents. The greetings at the beginning and end are greatly abridged in comparison with those in the letters written by Frania. For example, the latter always enumerated the "relatives and acquaintances" who sent greetings. This and two other letters written by the son and here omitted show how the form and content of the letter depend on the person who acts as secretary.

104 March 12, 1913

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We inform you about our success. We succeed well enough, thanks to God. The weather does not annoy us too much. We think already about work in the field. When our Lord God grants the soil to get dry, we will go at once to work, for in the barn we have threshed everything. This only is bad, that grain is exceedingly cheap, so all this remains in the barn. Write us what is the news there about our country, for you know more than we do [because of the censure]. We inform you only, that industry and commerce develop more and more in our country, common [co-operative] shops are set up, they wish to kill the Jewish trade, but we don't know whether it will succeed. Now, as to your inheritance, which you asked us to send you, it would be well, but the money is in the savings-bank, and when I wanted to take it, they refused to give any interest until the money has remained a whole year. So I reflect, let it remain till the end of the year; only then will I send it to you. Why should we give them these roubles for nothing?[1] I ask you moreover, advise me, for you are more in the world. I intend to go to you after the swarming of the bees, so write me whether it is better to go with a [prepaid] ship-ticket or for ready money, and whether I can yet come to you. Answer me, and after swarming I will prepare myself to visit you, for you cannot come, and I would be glad to see you before my death. . . . .

After reading this letter give it to Janek, for it does not pay to write separate letters to you both, so I wrote it upon a single sheet.

[Your father,

ANTONI OSIŃSKI]

105 September 3, 1913

. . . . DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . We wait for your letter, but we hear nothing. We don't know what happened to you. Perhaps you are angry with us for not having sent the money to you?

Now we inform you that here is a farm to sell after Szczepan B. ['s death]. Janek remembers it certainly. We write it because Janek promised to come back to our country. So if he wanted to settle upon a farm we could buy it with your money and Janek could pay

[1] This is only a pretext. The real reason is given in the following letter.

his part to Michałek there, and here he would have this farm. There are 9 morgs of land, good buildings. The proprietor wants 2,000 roubles for it. So speak with one another. If Janek wants to come back upon a piece of land, answer us.[1] He [the proprietor] asks you to answer in any case, whether so or not. And inform us how you succeed. Then we shall write you more news in another letter. Now we end our few words and wish you health and every good.

Your loving parents

Also Adam, Frania, Zygmuś and Walcia greet you. Also Aloś and Julka wish you every good.

Now I, your mother, must also send you a few words. You have always spoken in favor of Aloś, that he might remain with us, and your father also wanted him [to take the farm]. But he does not know now how to be grateful to us. He is not very good to us, and our daughter-in-law sees how he does and does not respect us either. She told me to go to my half of the house. Now it is still worse for me than it was while I was alone. Then I knew that I had nobody, but now I have a son and a daughter-in-law, and it is not good enough for them to speak to us. And I am so sad now. It is difficult for me to go to Frania, and she has children and cannot visit me often either. Dear children, if you don't intend to come back to our country forever, could you perhaps visit us for some time? Please inform Janek also about it, and when you answer me, I beg you, dear children, send the letter to Frania's address. . . . .

Your loving mother,

[Wiktorya]

106 November 4, 1913

. . . . Dear Children: . . . . This year we shall still remain with Aleksander, as we have lived up to the present, but next year we shall probably live and board separately, for we don't wish to importune [burden] them too much.

Then, dear son, as to this money, I write you from myself, that I have spoken to father for your sake, asking him to send you the

[1] As soon as the possibility of the son's returning and settling in his native village appears all the reasons quoted by the father for not paying at once his part of the inheritance disappear; the father is ready to spend all the money immediately in buying land for him. Of course the reason is that the son by returning would become again a member of the family-group.

money now, but father told me, that we don't know how long we have still to live, and he is afraid to remain without money at all, for there is no money stipulated from Aleksander [only natural products]. Father counted that you are rather well off there and that you won't require your dues at once, and for a few years still we shall be able to get the interest from this sum. So I beg you, my dear children, don't be angry and don't grieve. That which is yours won't be lost to you; even if we don't add anything, nothing will be missing. I will look after it myself [literally: I shall be in it]. And now manage as you can, my dear children. It is very painful for me, not to be able to help you, but really at present I can do nothing.

Now, dear children, remember me at least, your mother, who have bred you! God alone knows how many tears I have shed that, for all my suffering and troubles about you when you were small children, I have now nobody to comfort me, nobody to speak merrily with. If I could, I would fly to you, but surely I shan't have now any opportunity to see you in this world, for I feel by my bones that everything is more or less diseased. So I beg you once more, speak to us at least through paper. May I not have this disappointment, at least. . . . .

[WIKTORYA]

107 [GULBINY, September 9, 1901]

I, your sister Franciszka, write to you also that I am in good health. . . . . Don't be angry with me for not having written to you nicely or much [in letter for mother of same date]. . . . . I beg you, dear brothers, inform me what is the news in your country, for in our country there are frequent misfortunes and accidents. Karpiński was nearly killed by his horses. He lies as if he were without a soul. In Upielsk half the village is burned down. . . . . In Bożomin the miller mounted upon the windmill to cover it. He fell down and was killed, and so on, continually. . . . .[1]

[FRANIA]

[1] The first of Frania's letters show a characteristic interest in any extraordinary happenings in the community and neighborhood. With this anecdotic interest in the neighbors' life the peasant child gets its first introduction into the life of the community. The town child lacks in general this interest in the doings of grown-up people, except those of its parents and teachers. Cf. also Borek series.

108 November 12, 1901

I, Franciszka, your sister, greet you and inform you about my success, that I was digging [potatoes] for 4 days—and I earned 4 złoty [60 copecks]. I hoped that I should earn at least for a second skirt for myself and for mother.[1] But it rains and there are cold winds, and they [the parents] have still potatoes to dig, for a week at least [so I cannot go to work elsewhere, where I am paid]. Now I inform you who was taken to the army. [Enumeration.]

[FRANIA]

109 December 3, 1901

I, your sister, dear brother Jan, thank you heartily for your gift and for your noble heart. You sent me a token which, keeping it with care, I can have for my whole life. But, dear brother, Aleksander [younger brother] when he learned, that there was nothing for him, began to cry. He was grieved, that Michałek promised him a watch and sent him none.

I inform you, dear Janek, that I was with a procession in Płonne at a parish festival. The festival was very beautiful. I was at confession. When the priest began to preach people wept as if they were going to death. . . . .[2] Now I inform you about Michał that he remained in Długie [as the Count P.'s groom] for a year more. Michał was here on the day when I wrote you this letter, and mother wept that while Michał sometimes comes, and will be here at Christmas, you cannot. . . . . [Christmas wishes.] Amen.

F[RANIA]

[1] The money earned at hired work, as additional income, has always some particular destination. See Introduction: "Economic Attitudes."

[2] The children are taken very early to the church; it depends only upon their having holiday-clothes. The powerful influence of church-ceremonies upon the peasant begins thus in childhood. And the child is not excluded from any manifestation of religious life, except sacraments; there is a gradually growing understanding of the ceremonies, but no particular initiation. The only process which has some character of initiation is the preparation for the first communion, but, as the child has taken a part in the religious life of the community before this, the first communion has not the same importance for the peasant children as for the children of intelligent classes, who, even if admitted to ceremonies, are not initiated into the personal religious life of grown-up people. Here, as well as in other spheres of social life, the peasant child shares much earlier the interests of the community than a child of a higher class.

110 May 25, 1902

Now I, Franciszka, your sister, speak to you. . . . . I inform you that I send you a small cross through [our cousin], for you wrote, dear brother, that I would be the first [to send you a token]. I should be glad to give you something more, with my whole heart, but I have nothing except this divine sign. May it help you in everything. I have a small bottle of honey but our cousin did not wish to take it. . . . . Now I inform you about Aleksander's stock, for he has no time to write. He has 3 rabbits and 4 pigeons. [Greetings and wishes.]

[FRANIA]

111 July 29, 1903

DEAR BROTHER [JAN]: You say that I don't write well; but it only seems to you so. I write characterfully. But you, dear brother, try also to write better. I remain with respect.

F.

Appreciate my writing!

Dear brother Michał, I, your sister, inform you that Stefka Jabłonianka gave me no peace, but asked always for your address, and I had to give it to her. She always says that she will be my sister-in-law, but God forbid!

If I wrote anything bad[ly] pardon me.

[FRANIA]

112 September 24, 1904

. . . . Now I inform you, dear brother, that in our country fires continually break out. Not long ago Strzygi was on fire; half the village was burned. In Guńsk the whole village and the chapel are burned; only 5 houses are left. In Bożomin, a few days ago the whole courtyard [all the farm-buildings] burned down, and there is no village where something has not been burned. . . . . And I inform you, dear brother, about the air. It is very dry, and our parents say they don't remember such a year in their whole life. . . . .

You asked me, dear brother, about Frania's [Smentkowska] journey. We sent you a letter, but evidently you did not receive it. . . . . Her health was good. . . . . She was sent to Aleksandrowo, so before she got to the commune it cost her 14 roubles [bribing Russian police, for she had no passport]. . . . . When she came, we did

not know what to give her and where to seat her [we were so glad and honored her so]. But still we cannot forget the other one [the one killed, whose place this cousin came to fill].

Now, dear brothers, I thank you kindly and heartily for your gift. I have nothing to send you, except these words: "God reward." I shall be thankful to you during my whole life. I will pray God and God's Mother to give you happiness and blessing and that we may see one another, if not here, then in heaven. . . . .

Now, dear brothers, I inform you about Aleksander. When I read him this letter of yours, he said so: "Let them not jest about me, I will write them a letter yet. But I don't mind it at all, and may they only come. I will give them a dinner of my pigeons and a supper of my rabbits, buy a keg of beer for them, and bake wheat-bread." . . . .

[FRANIA]

113 May 17, 1904

. . . . Now I, your sister, write to you, dear Michałek, a few words. I inform you that the strawberries passed the winter well. I weeded them and I hope that they will bring fruit. If our Lord God grants you life and health, you will also try them. . . . . Before the house I made small round flower-beds and sowed the flower-seeds which you brought me from Długie. . . . . Only I need a fence, for the poultry spoil my work. But our parents say that before this we shall build a new barn, for the old one wants to fall down. So this year we shall bring material, and next year we shall build. Then, if some money is left, we shall make the hedge. Now I inform you that in Długie [where M. was a groom] they are already selling the small things, and the Count will go away in July. Mr. Bożewski's brother will live there. . . . .

[FRANIA]

114 January 18, 1905

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: . . . . We received two letters from you, which found us in good health . . . . but we could not understand much of them, for they were written upon such dark paper that it was difficult for me to see what was written. And as to what you wrote in your first letter, that mother should inform you about her parents and family, mother tells you, don't turn her head [worry her] for the

mayor is not in the village, and mother walked enough when you were in the army. Now she hardly walks about the house.

Now I inform you, dear brother, that I write this letter myself, from myself, even our parents don't know about it. Father told me not to write, for Michał Zieleniak went to America and took the address of Michałek. He will inform you about everything. . . . . I and brother sent you small gifts, brother 10 cigarettes, 5 for each of you, and I a handkerchief for each of you. You won't be perhaps satisfied with this token, but I can send you nothing more. . . . . In our village nobody is dead and nobody married, for all went to the army.

Pardon me for sending you such a letter [without stamp], but I have no money at all. . . . .

F[RANIA]

On the same day when I wrote this letter, the priest went through our village on a visitation [*kolenda*].[1]

115 February 18, 1906

. . . . Now I, your sister, thank you heartily for your gift, dear brother. . . . . Dear brother and sister-in-law, I would gladly go to you in a single hour [at once], but when I say to mother that I will go, mother weeps directly, that she bred us up and now, when she is old, we all want to leave her. And I could not earn for my living in that country, for now, although I have much work and must sit the whole day, in the evening I get scarcely 30 copecks. . . . .

[FRANIA]

116 January 24, 1907

DEAR BROTHER [JAN]: . . . . Pardon me for not having answered at once, but I was in a hurry with wedding-dresses for Stanisława Czechoska . . . . and then I had to be at the wedding. . . . . Here, thanks to God, is no news except weddings. On one Sunday there were 13 banns in our parish. . . . .[2] I was asked to every wedding but I was only at that of Czechoska, for if I went everywhere, I

[1] *Kolenda:* (1) Christmas wish, song, gift; many Christmas songs have this word as refrain; (2) visitation of the priest after Christmas (originally probably during or before Christmas), during which the priest inspects the parish, examines the parishioners on religious matters, and gets gifts from them.

[2] There were no weddings at all the preceding year. Cf. No. 86, note.

should have no money left for clothes, for now at weddings everybody pays largely [to the bride's collection]. I have indeed work enough, but in the country the prices of living are very low, so that my work is very ill paid. Dear brother Michał, your betrothed pleases me very much, but I should like to be at your wedding. Dear brother, if I see that it is not worth working here and if Aleksander gets married, so that mother has help, I would go to you, but I don't know when. . . . .

[FRANIA]

117 April 25, 1909

DEAR BROTHER: You write me not to marry until Michałek comes here with his fiddle. But so it could easily happen that I should remain an old girl. But never mind, if at least one of you were with me. As it is, I live as in a prison. I must weep almost every day. If it lasts longer, I shall consume myself with grief, so I think. I have nobody even to speak with. Our parents are old and go to sleep early, and I think often that my head will burst, I must weep so, and I long for you, for I am alone like an orphan. If I did not pity our parents, I should go at once to you, for with this needle I can earn little, and money is needed for everything. Now I won't even sew, for there will be work enough at the farm. But is it possible to leave our parents to the mercy of fortune, while they have raised us? Well, I will bear it as I can and pray to God that he will bring here at least one of you, for I long terribly. Goodbye, and don't be angry with me for writing this, for I have nobody to whom I can complain.

Your sister,

FRANCISZKA

118 February 28, 1910

Now, dear brothers, I also pen a few words to you. . . . . I intended to marry, but you write that it would be better if Aloś remained on the farm, so I shall probably come now . . . . to you, for I won't marry a man who has to pass from one manor to another [as manor-servant]. Even if he were a craftsman,[1] and if he wanted to

[1] Marrying a manor-servant would be a step downward for a farmer's daughter. But the wandering life of the servant, not his dependence, is put forward by the girl in a contemptuous way. And it is not an economic matter, for a craftsman in a manor (blacksmith or carpenter) usually lives better than a small farmer. Two

settle upon a good farm, at least 2,000 are needed. But, as I wrote you, there is not so much money now; our parents have only enough for their expenses. So perhaps when brother Aloś comes back, with God's help, he will pay us what will be the suitable part to everybody. If he gets more dowry with his wife, he will be able to pay more to us.[1] Meanwhile I shall probably leave our parents as you did[2] and will go to earn a little for myself, for here I have a bad income, for when I am at home I must always do something else. Moreover, mother complains often now, for she is no longer young, so I must busy myself with the household. And father also would not like to pay me anything, for he pays the servant, while I always need a little money besides everything else. Now, if you have no money you cannot show yourself anywhere, particularly a young person. Lastly I am always so alone, you are all scattered about the world, so it is very sad for me. Therefore I must find some other way. . . . .

[FRANIA]

119 August 2, 1910

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW: I beg you also, be so kind and visit us. Perhaps you will come just for my wedding. You would cause me a great joy, for to have 3 brothers and to have none at the wedding, this is something very painful. My wedding was to be in August, but the father of my betrothed died, so our affairs got crossed, but we hope that our intentions will be fulfilled and the wedding will be in autumn. I must inform you who is my future husband. He is the miller from Trąbin, schoolmate of Michałek. Michałek knows him for he went to school with him. I invite him,

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factors determine this appreciation of the stable life of a farmer as against the wandering life of a servant: (1) The social factor; the farmer is a member of a community, with a determined social standing; and (2) the love of land and farmwork.

[1] For this reason the brothers want Aleksander to take the farm. Frania's husband, whoever he may be, will have no cash ready to pay her brothers off, for cash is first of all reserved for girls as dowry, while Aleksander will get a dowry in cash and will be able to pay. Of course the family of Frania's future husband may mortgage its farm and give him the necessary cash; but we know the peasant's hate of debts.

[2] There is bitterness in this phrase and in the whole letter, although no reproaches are made. The letter contrasts with the preceding one (No. 117), which is only sorrowful.

i.e., Michałek, also heartily, for he promised me to play at my wedding-festival, so I remind him and I invite you all together to my wedding.

[FRANIA]

120 September 12, 1910

. . . . DEAR BROTHER [MICHAŁ]: You wrote that I could wait still a year with my wedding. Evidently, as to my years it would not be anything important, but my betrothed is almost obliged to marry, for his mother cannot work heavily any more, and his sister does not want to, but intends to go away as an apprentice. And then, to say the truth, he has been calling upon us for 3 years; it is long enough. I inform you that the first banns were on September 11, but the wedding won't be at once, perhaps not until middle October, for we are waiting for Aloś. He wrote that he would come. If they don't set him free once and forever, he would come at least for a leave. . . . . As to the wedding, it will probably be sad, without music, for even if it were with music it would be also sad for us, because he has no father. I probably shan't have any brother, so indeed it will be painful and sad. But, dear brothers and dear sister-in-law, I invite you to my wedding. If you cannot be there personally, then be at least with thought and spirit, for I will always think that I have dear brothers and a dear sister-in-law, but there somewhere, far away in the world. But nothing can be done. Such is the will of God. I will inform you later when my marriage will be with certainty, for now I don't know at all. . . . .

[FRANIA]

121 November 4, 1910

DEAR BROTHERS: We thank you for the wishes which you sent, for we received them the day before our wedding. . . . . Now we inform you about our wedding. We amused ourselves well enough, only it was painful for us that we could not rejoice together with you. Then we inform you that the wedding was with music, as you wished it. The marriage-ceremony was performed in the evening after the Rosary, and afterward the priest-vicar went ahead in order to receive us with bread and salt, after the old habit, and gave us at the same time his blessing. Our professor [village-teacher] Paprocki came also to our wedding and received us, together with the priest-vicar, with

bread and salt. . . . .[1] And our professor wished us progeny, and as a token brought before us a child, enveloped with big kerchiefs, upon his arm, and the child was very small, for it has finished 7 years already! This was a scene! If you had been there you would have seen!

Then we inform you that the festival lasted for a night and a day, without any collection.[2] After the wedding we went to the photographer in order to send you the token in remembrance, which we send you now, wishing you every good.

Yours, loving,

ADAM and FRANCISZKA

122 March 27, 1911

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTER-IN-LAW: . . . . We received your letter . . . . and your [wedding] gift. . . . . We thank you heartily for this money, dear brothers and sister-in-law. . . . . We cannot prove to you our gratitude even now for your good heart, except by thanking you once more. And we inform you at the same time that we gave [money] for a holy mass, at which we will beg God to reward you a hundred fold.

[Weather; crops.] There is nothing interesting in our country. There are rumors again that there is to be war. May God the Merciful give peace, for it would be the worst misery to our Alośs. He rejoices that he has only 7 months more to serve. If there were only peace, we should live perhaps till he comes. We inform you also about the trouble which we have with our farm. We have 8 morgs of land and a windmill. We keep some stock, for the income from the mill is not large, because steam mills have been constructed in the country and these took much bread away from the millers. As to the buildings, we have a new barn, a stable which is not bad; only the dwelling-house is not very good—old fashioned. Moreover, we have 250 roubles of debt which we took over from his parents when they willed us the farm. But if only our Lord God grants us health and life, in a few years we hope to make everything all right, with

[1] This, as well as the whole description, shows that the wedding was first rate from the peasant point of view. Evidently both bride and bridegroom had a high standing in the community.

[2] This is not in accordance with the tradition and shows a somewhat advanced attitude. A collection would probably have been felt as a humiliation, but this proves that the real meaning of communal solidarity is already obliterated.

God's help. Our life flows pleasantly, for we love and respect each other, so whatever happens, grief or joy, we share it together in concord. . . . .

[Greetings and wishes.]

A[DAM] and F[RANIA] BRZEZIŃSCY

123 July 7, 1913

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER [-IN-LAW]: . . . . We did not answer you at once for we had some trouble with our farming. It was going pretty well, we had paid a part of our debt back, and then suddenly in autumn a fine colt died, and then in May a horse died, and this always befalls the best ones. But what can we do? It won't come back. When our Lord God sends a misfortune the man can do nothing. If only God grants us health and life, we shall manage in some way. Our children, up to the present, get on well enough. Zygmunt already explains himself well enough. They are our whole joy. [Weather and crops; greetings and wishes.]

A[DAM] and F[RANIA] B.

124 TROMBIN, November 4, 1913

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER [-IN-LAW]: . . . . We had this year some misfortune with the horses, as I wrote you already, and then the wings of our windmill fell down. We both had trouble enough, but nothing could be done. We have talked with each other, that our Lord God is trying us, and we commended everything to His will. This alone makes our life sweeter, that we live in good harmony and respect each other,[1] and that up to the present our Lord God has kept our children well. They are lively and grow well. Little Walcia already stands alone. If we could get some more money, we would send you their photograph.

As to the windmill, probably it won't be worth repairing any more for now steam mills are built in the towns and everybody prefers to take [the grain] there, for they have it at once and more finely ground. Now we inform you that we have a co-operative milkshop in our

[1] Again the attitude of "respect" as a basis of conjugal life. And it is significant that in the first letter "love" is mentioned, while in the second, two years later, there is no such mention. It does not mean that the relation has grown colder, only that the first sexual novelty has disappeared and the sexual relation is subordinated to the respect norm.

village. Adam was even elected treasurer, to pay for the milk. [Weather.] We won't inform you about political questions, for you know more there from your papers than we know from ours. Now I beg you in my own name, dear brother and sister, remember our parents, and particularly mother. Write often and comfort her as you can, for mother despairs much about you.[1] When she comes to me, she only pets Zygmuś and Walcia a little and leaves at once, and there at home she weeps again and there is nobody who knows how to comfort her, for Aloś is somewhat indifferent. . . . .

ADAM and FRANIA

If anything is bad[ly written] forgive me, for now I don't write often, so it does not go well.

125 DŁUGIE, April 27, 1902

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: I received your letter. . . . . I had at the moment urgent work which hindered me from reading it. Whenever I took it in my hand and began to read, I was called away. I looked always for the words "Prepare to come to America," or, "The ship-ticket is on the way," but I read instead that you were sick. When I read this I did not wish to read any further, for my companion is going now, in April, and I thought that I would go with him, but I did not succeed. I don't know whether my wish is right or wrong.

Now, dear brother, I inform you that in the holidays I was at home with our parents. I went there on the last Sunday [before Easter]. I arrived just after the priest [who consecrated the Easter-food] left. They have their [new] house in order; the priest consecrated it, together with the *święcone* [Easter-food] and my favorite sausage, which I settled [ate] in 2 days. But I was not very glad [I did not amuse myself well], for both holidays were cold and rainy. They remembered you continually, particularly mother. I told them always that I would go to America after the holidays, that I had received a letter [from you] and a ship-ticket. Only when I was about to leave, I told the truth. . . . . Now inform me, where do you like the most [to live] among all the places you have been, in our country and abroad. . . . . I don't know whether anybody got married in Gulbiny; I know only that the girl who expected you in vain to marry

[1] The mother has lost her practical interest in life since the farm was given to Aleksander. From this probably, more than from Aleksander's coldness, comes the growing longing for her other boys.

her [or "whom you expected in vain to marry"] took some clay-dabber [brick-maker]. . . . .

MICHAŁ O.

126 May 10, 1902

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I wish you good health and happiness, that you may as soon as possible get out of this trouble, in which you cannot even "trink ejn glass Bir." . . . . As to my watch, I have it indeed, but I am not much pleased with it, for it has been already treated by a doctor, and now it wants to stop again, ... but when I frighten it perhaps it will know better.

Now I inform you, dear brother, about our spring in our country. Up to the present it has been bad, for it even snows sometimes, and at night it is impossible to go anywhere for—well, for laughing [love-making], for it is so cold that the potatoes in hot-beds are frozen. Now I inform you about our village Długie. It is so spoiled that nothing can be done to improve it—not the village itself, but the people in the village. First, card-playing without any consideration. People come from other villages to ours [to play]. At the same time drinking, fighting—almost every boy with a stick in his hand, a knife in his pocket and a revolver in his bosom. [It assumes] such proportions that a man who returned from America and brought with him more than 400 roubles was killed and the money taken. I don't suspect exactly that these robbers were from Długie, but they were from the neighborhood, at any rate. It is not yet discovered [who did it]. People began to talk about one man, that he was the one, but he went and hanged himself.[1] [Wishes and greetings.]

Only don't do as Antoni did [don't marry] until I see you. . . . . Everybody dissuades me from going to America [saying] that I shall have to work hard and still to die from hunger, and that I should be killed, for there are so many robbers. . . . .

MICHAŁ O.

[1] Suspicion, just or unjust, is the most usual cause of peasant suicide. (Cf. Introduction: "Social Environment.") The main factor here is the fear of the dishonor of condemnation, as a man who has been condemned, or even tried, for a criminal offense loses once and forever all social standing. He can never try to exert *any* influence in his community, for he is always reminded of his condemnation, and it is difficult for him to settle in any other community without his past becoming known; the system of "legitimation papers" prevents it. The peasant's suicide seems to indicate that social opinion can become the most powerful element in the peasant farmer-village life.

127 August 1, 1902

. . . . Dear Brother: . . . . I was rejoiced that you were in good health, until I read that you had no work, and this grieved me. But I hope in God that presently you will get better. I am also very sad that I shan't see you, dear brother, and also that I must now sit at home. Therefore I asked father to give me a few roubles in order to go to Warsaw, but father said that he wanted to ask you to lend him 50 roubles, and father and mother say that I could go to Warsaw, that they prefer it to my going to America, for it would not pay to go before the military service. But what can I do in my misery? If you could, dear brother (I don't dare to beg you, for you complain that you have no work, but I dare only to say, if you could), help me I will give it back to you with thanks, for I hope in God and God's Mother that I shan't always be so badly off. And I add, dear and beloved brother, that I should gladly remain at home, but father always says that I ought to earn for myself, that he has already fed me long enough.[1] In some respects he is right, but if I get into the world, I shall perhaps find some way if our Lord God grants me health. I have a few grosz, but I cannot go as I am. I must buy clothes and shirts, or stuff for shirts and have them sewed. There are also many other trifles, and some sort of a valise. Now, dear brother, don't reject my prayer, and don't delay, if you only can. You know, when you needed [money] one time or another, although I could give you nothing[2]—yet if I could, I would have shared with you everything, even the blood from my finger.[3] And so, dear brother, when we see each other, I will give you everything back with thanks. . . . .

Now I have nothing more to write, only I beg you once more, be so kind and don't wait for anything, only help me. If you cannot, as I wrote you [lend money], to the parents, then help me at least with a few roubles. I don't require you to send me your money and to

[1] The idea that every member of the family who is not absolutely indispensable at home ought to earn his living outside by hired work is relatively new. Of course, when the farm is insufficient to feed the whole family additional work of its members is a necessity; but here this is not the case. It is the substitution of economic advance for mere living as an aim, which leads to the desire to give the most productive use to the work of each member of the family, in the interest of the family as a whole.

[2] Alludes to the fact that he tried to persuade his parents to send money to his brother when the latter was in the army.

[3] Half proverbial, probably originating in the form of blood brotherhood.

live there in misery yourself, for I am not dying with hunger, but I have no luxury either. For you know, dear brother, that I like to work, but only if I know what I am working for. But I cannot dress myself any more now for 30 roubles [a year]. . . . .

Pardon me, dear brother, for having written so badly, but I wrote and thought about something else. [Wishes.] And now I bow low to my beloved Frania [probably cousin, who went recently to America]. Please beg her, if you see her, to pardon me what I said to her on her departure, and to write me something. . . . .

I embrace you and kiss you kindly and heartily, as well and perhaps even better than my sweetheart.

MICHAŁ O.

128 February 21, 1903

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I have waited for your letter for days, and weeks, and months. . . . . I don't know what is going on with you, whether you are ill, or whether you got so proud after your marriage. I make different suppositions. Forgive me my joke, dear brother [about the marriage; Jan was ultimately refused by the girl], for perhaps my Zosia S. will also despise [reject] me. I don't mention her name, for she is in America, and you are still a bachelor, so you would be ready perhaps to take her for yourself. . . . .

Now I inform you, dear brother, that my companions and mates leave me and go to America, and I should also prefer to work if I could only follow them. Those who went write well enough. They have no hard work, and even if it were hard, I ought to be able to hold out as others do, for I shall soon be twenty. I should be glad to earn a little before the military service, or if not, then at least to look a little about the world, for if I keep this groom-work longer in my hands it will go out by the top of my head [upset me]. . . . . Father allows me to go. Mother says it would be better if I did not go, but if you send me a ship-ticket and if I beg her, she will allow me to go. . . . .

MICHAŁ O.

129 March 6, 1906

And now I beg you, dear brothers, help me in some way to get there to you, for here I work at home and as a hired laborer, and even

so I hardly earn enough for my clothes.[1] Moreover, all my companions are going, so I want also to visit America. Dear brothers, send me money or a ship-ticket. When I come there, I will work it back with thanks. . . . .

ALEKSANDER OSIŃSKI

130 November 15, 1908

Now I, dear brothers, bid you farewell [on going to the army] and greet you kindly and heartily, for I don't know whether our Lord God will allow us to see one another any more.[2] I beg you, don't forget about our parents and about me, for you know that there is hardly a day when our mother does not shed tears, either about me, what will happen to me, or about you, whether you are healthy and alive, and there will be nobody to comfort our mother. . . . .

[ALEKSANDER]

131 TOWN KANSK [SIBERIA], May 17, 1909

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I learned from your letter that you sent me 20 roubles. This rejoiced me, for they will be very useful to me. I don't wait with answering until they come, but I answer you at once and thank you, dear brothers and sister-in-law. Perhaps our Lord God will allow me to show you my gratitude. . . . .

Now I inform you . . . . about my service. On May 21, our oath will be taken . . . . and we hope that it will be somewhat

[1] The dissatisfaction with working on his parents' account is a typical sign of the beginning disintegration of the family as a unit. Cf. letters of Stanisław in the Markiewicz series.

[2] We find this farewell also in other letters of peasants going to serve in the Russian army. The separation is felt as more absolute than any other, certainly not only on account of any possible war (no war was expected in 1908) and not only on account of the length of the separation, or of the distance, since the emigration to America goes on without such tragic farewells. It seems to be a social custom, and its source is easily traced back to that period in the middle of the nineteenth century, where a peasant taken to the army was to serve seven to fifteen years or more (because every disciplinary punishment brought a prolongation of the term), when communication by letters was above the means of a soldier, who, moreover, usually did not know how to write, and when the discipline of the Russian army was the most severe and unreasonable possible. At that time going to the army meant often really a separation for life even if there was no war, and the fact had still more meaning because of its relative rareness, as the number of recruits which a community was to furnish was much smaller than now.

better, at least for our legs, for now there is no day without our running like wet dogs. . . . . Now I inform you about the life of the people here, how they live and with what they occupy themselves here in this Siberia. In villages they occupy themselves mainly with agriculture, for there is no lack of land, but they do badly in it, for they are lazy. On Good Friday we went to the town; there they occupy themselves mainly with trade, and there are many who only loaf about and look out whom they can rob, and get drunk. The soil in this country is fertile and everything would grow, but the winter lasts too long and not everything can ripen. There are no fruit trees at all, the fruits are brought from other countries. Now I inform you that in our country beyond Płock the water [Vistula] did much damage, submerged many villages, tore away the railway-bridge in Modlin, and many people remained without living [work] and without a bit of bread. . . . . Dear brother, inform Janek Sz., if he does not long for our country, let him remain in America, for if he gets here [to the army] he will remember it, but it will be too late. . . . .

ALEKSANDER O.

132 KANSK, September 6, 1909

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I was very sad, for I learned that you received none of my letters. I wrote you two and I paid for both, and I don't know whether they did not reach you because they were paid or because of something else. I send you the third unpaid, perhaps this one will reach you sooner. . . . .[1]

I was very grieved on learning that Michałek won't return home any more. I did not expect it at all. I thought that when our Lord God grants me to finish my service and to go back home, he would come at least on a visit and we should rejoice all together under the native roof. For now we are scattered about the world, and whenever I remember it, I can hardly refrain from weeping. Our father must work alone, and I am living here worse than a beast. It will be soon a year since I have seen a church or a priest.[2] And all the people live

[1] The argument seems strange, but it corresponds with the facts. The Russian post is very negligent, and many ordinary letters are lost, but for a letter without a stamp the receiver has to pay double, and on this account there are some formalities connected with its forwarding and delivery.

[2] Example of the importance of religion as the main idealistic factor in peasant life, even for a young boy, who is usually the least religious person in a peasant family.

here in the same way. In the evening all the shutters are closed, and if anybody shows himself on the street he won't return home alive; he will be either shot or butchered with knives. Many have been killed so. Once we stood on guard near the prison and we were attacked by day. They wanted to set the convicts free, but they did not succeed. We killed one with a bayonet, and the other fled. . . . .

Now I inform you that the harvest is finished here only now, and the air is cold already. And I beg you, advise me, whether I may go on leave, for they wrote to me twice already from home to come; but it would cost very much, 30 roubles for the journey alone, without the living. And they would give me leave for 3 months. . . . .

ALEKSANDER O.

133 SIBERIA, March 28, 1910

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . On Easter-Sunday after the evening roll-call I had already gone to sleep when a letter from home was brought to me. When I read it, I learned first that father had already sent to the governor the decision of the commune that you [Michał] had not been [in the country] for so long a time, dear brother, and in 3 weeks the decision will be in the office of the military chief. . . . . So perhaps our Lord God will grant us to see one another soon under the native roof.[1] If you knew, dear brothers, how sad my holidays were until I got the letter, you would not believe me. . . . . Now, dear brothers, I learned . . . . that Janek intends to go [home] to the wedding [of Frania]. Perhaps our Lord God will grant me to be there also, for our sister will certainly marry Adam Brz. from Trombin, who went with us to school. I think that Michałek knows him; he is the son of the miller. On New Year there was also a man from Obory, but she did not want him, although he is rich; he has more than 40 morgs of land. She did not want him, for it is too far away from home, and he is as old as the Bible. . . . . As to the farm, I think that you advised father well [to give it to me], for Michałek won't come back any more and won't wish to work in the earth, while I have worked from my young years, so I am very accustomed to the earth and I know how to manage it. Just for that I am so awfully

[1] That is, Aleksander will be released from the army as the sole support of his parents.

homesick in the army, for I am away from the soil, I cannot work in it. [Moving-pictures shown the regiment.]

Now, dear brothers, you wrote that you can help me, so I beg you, when you receive this letter, send me a few roubles. Perhaps they will be useful for my journey, or if not, then in the autumn I will go on leave. . . . . I beg you, dear brothers, don't forget me . . . . particularly you, dear Janek, who have served. You know how bad it smells here; particularly during their Lent one almost dies.

ALEKSANDER O.

[Letter of March 17, 1911 shows that the plan to have him released from the army did not succeed. Letter of January, 1912, announces arrival home.]

134 GULBINY, February 17, 1912

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: First I greet you, and also your wife, and I inform you that I got free from this slavery and came to my dear parents. What was my joy, dear brother, I won't describe it to you, for I know that you know it well, because you have also eaten of this Moscovite bread and you know how good it is. Only I inform you that I am treated without end, everybody invites me, and Frania does not want to let me go from her house, she wants me to remain there day and night and to relate about this Siberia, while I need to go somewhere farther in order to find some girl for myself. You all, dear brothers, are married, only I am still alone. Perhaps you have there in America some pretty and rich girl, so when you come here, bring her to me, for here it is difficult to find such. All the prettiest girls are gone to America. So I beg you, dear brother, don't forget this. [The request is half a jest.]

Now I inform you what is the news here. As to the old people about whom you wrote, only the old Jabłońska from the end of the village is dead, and Uncle Sm. is lying very sick. For a whole year he has not been able to eat and to rise . . . . and we don't know, but probably he will soon end his life. And our Mr. Piwnicki [manor-owner] lives so that you would not know him and his estate. I was away for only 3 years and even so I could not recognize it. What a factory they built near the farm-yard! And the mill and that forge

which stood near the mill have been pulled down, and they take clay from that spot.[1] [Weather.]

Now I have nothing more of interest to write. If you can, inform me when you will come back and how much money you can bring with you, I shall perhaps find you somewhere a nice piece of land. . . . .

Your well-wishing brother,

A. O.

135 July 12, 1912

. . . . DEAR BROTHER: I will pen to you a few words, not much at present, for I am not yet married. As soon as I marry, I will write you more. Do you know, dear brother, that up to the present I have ridden in search of a girl, but now I must walk on foot, for I have already worn the horses out! After so many troubles I found two, one named Bronisława C. . . . . and the other also Bronisława, but excuse me, for I forget her name. Probably one of these two will be mine . . . . and I hope that in my next letter I shall invite you to my wedding. . . . .

Your well-wishing brother,

ALEKSANDER O.

[1] Rather an expression of commiseration (cf. corresponding letter of the parents) than of approval. The peasants are ready to appreciate any aesthetic improvement of the manor, as well as any progress in the purely agricultural line, but every industrial undertaking of the manor-owner, particularly the building of a factory, provokes a mixed feeling of satisfaction, because of the new opportunity of work, of admiration for the man's cleverness, and at the same time a half aesthetic, half moral disapproval. The man is slightly despised because for the sake of a greater income he deprives himself of an aesthetic environment and from a traditional country lord becomes an entrepreneur. The same feeling of commiseration accompanies any endeavor to diminish the household expenses, the number of servants, of carriage horses, etc., and in general any conversion of an aesthetic value into a productive value. The country lord, in the peasant's opinion, ought to live according to his social standing, to afford unproductive expenses, to maintain the same standard of life as his father and grandfather before him. He may and should improve his farming but it is not suitable for him to be too eager to make money, "like a Jew." The argument is always "Is he not rich enough to afford this or that?" This attitude is particularly marked when a new proprietor comes and begins to turn into money values which his predecessor used to maintain his standard of life. Such a man, if not known in the country, is immediately classed as a parvenu.

136 September 24, 1912

. . . . Dear Sister [-in-law] and Beloved Brother: You wrote that you had sent two letters and in one of these [our parents say] you asked for money. We were much grieved that you, having been so long in such a free and rich country, cannot get your living, though you are young, but write to us, old people [speaking in the name of the parents] for help.

You know, dear brother, that I came just now from this prison [the army], I had even no time to look around well among the people, and I needed some clothes to be made for me in order not to be the last among other boys, and all this costs very much in our country. I even expected now a few grosz from you, as first help, and you write in quite another manner. We don't even know whether you are in earnest or making jokes at us. You know, dear brother, that you will receive everything, whatever your father destined for you, but not sooner than I get married. Perhaps I shall even come soon to you, for here it is difficult to get a rich and good wife, and instead of taking just anything I would rather come to you soon. That will be quieter [less distracting]. And if you wish you can come to our country and farm, for now I cannot act in a different way. I pity the old parents who will be left alone, but what can I do?

I inform you that on September 29, is the 50th anniversary [of the priesthood] of the old priest F. . . . . who was for so many years in Trombin and is now in Radomin. A company [procession] will go from here to Radomin. [Weather; farm-work.] The worst of it is the digging of the potatoes. It rains almost every day, the potatoes rot, and it is impossible to hire anybody. People want 50 and 60 copecks a day, and afternoon luncheon, and a bottle [of beer] to be put out for them. This is too expensive for us. We must dig alone. . . . .

Your well-wishing brother,

Aleksander O.

137 November 16, 1912

"Praised be Jesus Christus!"

Dear Brother: We signed under, invite you, together with your wife, to our marriage-ceremony and to the wedding-feast which will be celebrated on Wednesday, November 27, 1912, in the house of

Mr. Jur., in Bożomin. I shall describe to you our life more in detail in another letter.[1]

We remain, with respect for you,

ALEKSANDER and JULCIA O.

[Greetings from the parents and sister, and news about the weather on a separate sheet.]

138 January 20, 1913

. . . . DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW: I pen to you a few words, together with my wife. First I inform you that health favors us up to the present. We live merrily on. Only now I have got full liberty after such a long waiting, and I don't think of moving anywhere, if only our Lord God gives us health. When I learned from your letter [about some catastrophe] I felt cold, and my Julka reddened and said that she won't let me go anywhere alone. As to the photograph, we beg very politely your pardon, but we shall send it to you perhaps in another letter, for now we have no opportunity at all. I beg you also, inform us about Michałek, for he wrote us that he would soon work together with his wife [after being married] and now he does not write. I don't know whether they live in health; perhaps the stork is near. Then hurrah! [Weather.] We bid you goodbye very kindly and heartily. My wife always tells me that she would be glad to see you and talk with you about America. Now be healthy, until the pleasure of seeing you.

ALEKSANDER and JULKA O.

[1] The invitation is evidently purely formal, as the letter will hardly arrive before the date of the wedding. Nevertheless not to invite would be considered a great offense.

GOŚCIAK SERIES

The writer is an average Galician peasant. The relation of the father and the son-in-law is more cordial than that of the father and son. The son-in-law has evidently at once taken the standpoint of familial solidarity with regard to his wife's family, while the son has become more or less estranged during his stay in America.

139–41, FROM JAKÓB GOŚCIAK, IN GALICIA TO HIS SON-IN-LAW AND SON, IN AMERICA

139 [1913?]

"Praised be Jesus Christus."

DEAR SON-IN-LAW AND YOU, DEAR DAUGHTER: [Generalities about health, success, crops.] Now I inform you, dear son-in-law and dear daughter, that I tried to buy [land] from those old women in Czarnocin . . . . but they say that somebody . . . . gives them a whole 7,000 [crowns], but we don't know whether it is true or not, because now they have very beautiful crops and therefore they are so proud, and so we must wait what will be further. It pleases me well enough . . . . but it does not please your father. He says that it is possible to find something better to buy, that this is dear, and worth little.

And now I inform you that a young man from America came here who says that Wojtek Wojtusiak broke an arm and Wojtek Leśny broke a leg. And here people say that it is true, and you don't write to us anything about it, whether it is true or not. So answer us. And people say that in America are wars, and you don't write us anything about it. And now I inform you that our lawsuit with Tomek is ended, and it resulted so that we have to divide the pine grove between ourselves, and the land will be mine. We lost much [on the lawsuit], but even so it was worth it, for the land alone is worth something, because now land is very dear there. They ask 1,000 for a morg. And I write some words. How does Józek Patoniec behave there? Answer me about him.

And now I shall write you some words, sincerest truth. Believe me, what I shall write is the very truth, because your mother herself ordered me to write a few words about your father, how he is farming here. It is such a father. When he began to call upon us and to ask us for a loan of some money, in order to buy a calf, we lent him 25 gulden. What did he do? When he seized this money he bought a pig for it. Because when he seized it he went at once with it to Hejmejka, and drank so long until he spent it all, and it did not even suffice. And what did he do when he lacked more money? He went home, took a cart and a mare and drove to [?] and there sold everything to Placiak, Josek and Szymczyk, saying that he would spend everything in drinking. Your mother told me to describe all this to you, and she asks you not to dare to send any money, none of you, for this liquor. . . . .

JAKÓB GOŚCIAK

140 March 10, 1914

I sit down to the table, I take the pen and I greet you, dear son-in-law, and you, my daughter. [Generalities about health and success; letters received and sent.] Probably my letter did not reach you, since you say that I don't know how to write your address; but I write as I know, and so don't be contrary to me [angry]. And now I write you that we have no more snow, but rain pours down and it is wet and there is no spring yet. And now you write us that we did not send you any Christmas token. But how should we have sent you any since you never once wrote to us about it. And now you ask whether my leg is healed. It is healed, thanks to God, but I cannot walk yet in a small shoe, because it gnaws me. And now you ask about those planks whether I hid them. Well, I hid them in the barn, and I had trouble enough with them, because your father wanted to take them and to drive them to Hejmejka because here [he thinks] they are useless, and your father wants money for liquor, because vodka got dearer, 7 szóstkas [1 crown 40 heller] for a liter. I was obliged to insure my buildings, because your father said that he would burn us. And now I wrote you in that other letter about this money. The Bodziunys and Jasiek paid it back long ago, and now what shall I do with it? Whether I have to put it into a savings-bank, or to lend it to anybody in the village, or to let it remain at home? Answer me at once, how I should do with it. And now you

write me, dear daughter, about our son Wojtek. Don't be anxious about him, what he is doing there, let him do what he will. As he makes his bed, so he will sleep. We got rich enough through him, with those wages of his which he sent us! And now here people ask us always whether Wojciech Wojtusiak married Kaśka, your sister, so write us about it. . . . .

[JAKÓB GOŚCIAK]

141 [April, 1914?]

[DEAR SON WOJTEK]: . . . . And now you say that we don't write to you and that we are angry with you. But we are not angry, it is you who are angry with us, for you don't remember us, you have forgotten that you have here parents and a brother and sisters. You say so [reproach us], that we wrote you to work and to send money. So I will tell you this: "As you make your bed, so you will sleep." Now you have a better reason [wisdom] already than you had formerly, [irony] for you said formerly that you had no reason, and now you ask us to give you this fortune, which is first God's, then ours. All this may be. But now we must speak, how to do it. First suppose, that I give you it. But you know that you have here a brother Jasiek and sisters. Perhaps you have forgotten them, so I shall remind you who they are. The name of one is Maryna, of the other Kundzia, of the third Ludwisia. And it is thus here [in our village]. Józek Blaszczyk got married . . . . so his father willed him this his farm. But he has another son, and for this one he designated 5 hundred-notes to be paid [by the older] from these three quarters [morgs?] and this hut. The older said that it was too much, but the younger said thus: "If you think it is too much, then [give me the farm and] I will give you 8 hundred-notes."[1]

And now people say here that you want to marry. But how about the call [to military service]? A constable went here about [the village] and wrote down all of you who went to America without having been at the call. They say that you will be driven home as prisoners [from the frontier]. And now all this is still nothing. But if you marry, where will you put this wife, in her hat? Since here women and girls walk in homespun and kerchiefs [szmata] and eat

[1] This means that the son cannot get the farm without having money to pay his brother and sisters because land is expensive and it is no longer the custom to favor too much the son who takes the land.

gruel and potatoes and bread. And it is necessary to work, while your lady won't work, for where will she put her umbrella? But all this is still nothing. But how much money have you sent to us? We are really ashamed, people laugh at us so. The wise man promises, the stupid man rejoices. If I had nothing but this which you help me with, it would be enough, for I get on very nicely on the money which you have sent! So I thank you for it. And it will be also useful to you, when you want to buy farm-stock!

But enough of this. And now I shall write you, dear son, a few words. You went to America for money, for you know that you will need it if I want to give you a lot of land.

And now we greet you nicely. . . . .

JAKÓB GOŚCIAK

MARKIEWICZ SERIES

The Markiewiczs are a family of peasant nobility living in the province of Warsaw, near the Vistula and on the border of the province of Płock, but not like the Wróblewskis in their ancient family nest. This part of the country has almost no industry, but the neighborhood in which the family lives is not isolated from cultural influence, as the town of Płock, lying across the river, is the seat of a rather strong intellectual movement. Life is much faster in their social environment than in that of the Wróblewskis, who come from the same class, and this may explain the difference of attitudes. Unlike Walery Wróblewski, the Markiewiczs are "climbers." The whole familial situation, the difference between the old and the young generation, the individual differences of character and aspirations are much better understood if this fundamental feature is kept in mind. We find analogous situations in other familial series, but nowhere so universally and fully presented in its most interesting stage, i.e., at the moment when the tendency to rise *within* their own class begins to change into a tendency to rise *above* their own class. The situation of the family Markiewicz is thus representative of the general situation of the middle and lower classes of Polish society. It is a family in which the characters of the old society, with its fixed classes of families, and the new society, with its fluid classes of individuals, are mixed together in various proportions. Their only peculiarity is that, thanks to their origin, the tendency to climb within their class can have much more important consequences than with the ordinary peasants and appears therefore as especially justified. For it happened frequently in the past that a

branch of a family of peasant nobility, by a gradual advance in wealth and education, rose to the ranks of middle nobility, and even two or three of the highest noble families are reputed to have grown in this way. Even now if the family Markiewicz as a whole made a fortune and acquired education, it would gradually identify itself with middle nobility. But this climbing within the old familial hierarchy would take at least three generations, while climbing within the new individualistic hierarchy could be achieved in one generation and it is doubtful whether the aim of getting into the middle nobility is consciously realized by the family. We must remember that the isolation of the peasant nobility as a class is four centuries old and that the traditional social horizon of its members no longer reaches beyond their class. Thus the two older brothers, Józef and Jan, are typical peasants whose sphere of interests is completely inclosed within the old social group. They do not tend to rise above their class and they do not understand the conscious or unconscious tendencies of their children in this direction. Each of them wants his family to occupy the highest possible place within the community—his family as a whole, not one or another individual in particular, not even his own personality, which he does not dissociate from that of his family. All the efforts of Józef and Jan are concentrated upon this aim. They both economize as much as possible, making little distinction between their own money and that of their children; they both buy land wherever there is any opportunity; they try to profit from every source of income; they neglect any showing-off except in the traditional lines, giving no money to dress their children, but spending large sums on wedding-festivals. They endow their children very well, but want them to make good matches. They give their children instruction, but only as far as instruction helps to attain a higher standing in the community itself,

and provided it does not lead to ideas contrary to the traditions. They do not understand at first how their sons in America can have any other aim than to gather as much money as possible in order to come back and buy good farms and marry rich peasant girls. When they begin to understand that their sons' sphere of interests has become different from their own, the discovery leads either to a tragic appeal or to a more or less complete estrangement between father and son.

The two mothers, wives of Józef and Jan, have no such determined tendency and seem in general to have no conscious and far-going life-plans. Their ideas turn generally in the traditional circle, but their familial attitude is not pronounced and their love for their children individually allows them to understand them and to sympathize better with their individual needs and their new tendencies.

Each of the children has a somewhat different attitude. In Jan's family the three sons, Michał, Wiktor, and Maks present the most perfect gradation from a typical peasant to a typical middle-class attitude. (The fourth son, Stanisław, is not sufficiently characterized in his brothers' letters; he seems to be more or less like Wiktor.) Michał is nothing but a peasant, without even his father's tendency to advance. Perhaps he is too young. His whole sphere of interest is that of a farmer. He hates the army with a truly peasant hatred, and does not even try, as members of the lower-middle class usually do, to become a sergeant. He has so little ambition as to think about becoming an orderly. At the maneuvers he is interested only in Russian farming; cities have no interest for him. And his highest dream is to come back and to take his father's farm. He has particularly strong familial feelings, not only of love but also of solidarity, and few purely personal claims.

Wiktor is also a peasant, but much less so than his father or his brother. The career which he desires lies in the line of peasant life in the sense that he intends to remain a farmer. But he has already certain points which distinguish him from the peasant. These are (1) much stronger personal claims, which become a source of antagonism between him and his father; (2) a tendency to general instruction, not limited to the necessary minimum; (3) a tendency to get into "better society," to boast about higher relationships (even if they be those with a Russian official, in spite of his hatred for the Russians), and to assume certain forms and manners of the better society. But this will certainly be dropped when after his marriage he settles down upon a farm, and he will become a typical well-to-do farmer.

Maks has little of the peasant even in the beginning of his career in America, and almost nothing after seven years spent in this country. He drops all the peasant ideals one after another—agriculture, property, communal interests, familial solidarity (without losing attachment to individual members of the family)—and while keeping the climbing tendencies of his father, develops them along a new line, in the typical middle-class career.

Still more variety is shown among the children of Józef. Two of them—Alfons and Polcia—have not the smallest interest in anything outside of the peasant life; on the contrary, they want to remain peasants in full consciousness of the fact. But since at the same time they show no climbing tendencies, it seems that the father's attitude toward them is rather contemptuous. The mother shares the contempt toward Alfons, while she rather favors Polcia, who helps her, although she is not proud of her.

Stanisław and Pecia show a mixture of the attitudes of the peasant and the lower-middle class, which results in rather negative features, as only the superficial characters

of the lower-middle class have been assimilated, and many valuable peasant characters lost. Stanisław is peculiarly undecided in his life-plans. He hesitates between marrying and remaining a peasant, and going to America. Finally he goes to America, but comes back after a year, and then regrets it. He has much vanity and very strong personal claims; a superficial tendency to instruction, which does not develop either into professional agricultural instruction, as in Alfons, or into professional instruction along the technical line, as in Maks, or even into a serious "sport," as in Wacław. As to Pecia, she seems to have assimilated merely the external distinctions (dress and manners) of the lower-middle class; she is a climber, but without the strong character necessary to climb. She marries a man a little above the peasant level of general culture, but instead of pushing him in the line of a middle-class career, drops with him into the peasant life again, and has not even the qualities required of a farmer's wife. Her laziness and vanity make a peasant career impossible for her.

Wacław and Elżbieta are perhaps psychologically the most interesting types. Intellectually and morally they are completely outside of the peasant class. Their sphere of interests is totally different from that of their parents and environment and they take their new line of life very seriously, particularly instruction and—with Wacław—social activity. But they have developed no new economic basis of life; they have not the energy or self-consciousness to begin a regular middle-class career. Wacław ought to imitate Maks; Elżbieta ought to become a teacher or a business woman. But they do not do it, and thus arises an interior conflict which is perfectly typical at the present moment. They remain in the old class by their familial connections and economic interests, while intellectually and morally they have little in common with it.

The letters of Michał show fully the peasant's attitude toward military service, particularly in the Russian army. This attitude is universal; we find it, a little less strong, in Aleksander Osiński's letters, and stronger still in the letter of J. Wiater, No. 664; and everyone shares or is supposed to share it. That the military service is a great annoyance to the peasant is shown by the fact that so many peasants prefer to leave their country forever rather than to serve—for example, Maks Markiewicz and Michał Osiński. No other manifestation of the authority of the state interferes so much with the peasant's life.

It is not difficult to understand the peasant's hatred of the army. First of all, in Russia he is completely isolated from his family and community and finds himself among foreign people whose language he does not well understand (even if he was taught it in the school), whose faith is different, whose cultural level is lower than his own, and who dislike him. He is driven far into the east of Russia, often to Siberia, for it is a policy of the Russian government to scatter the Polish soldiers over the whole empire, for fear of a revolution. Further, the peasant accustomed to the relative liberty of country life finds himself in the barracks, under a harsh and continual control; all his acts are prescribed; there are innumerable trifles which never permit him to forget his dependence. Instead of farm-work, which is for him full of meaning, which has a great variety and requires no particular precision, he finds drill, with its efforts to attain mechanical precision, not only monotonous but absolutely meaningless. Not only are three or four years of his life lost without any benefit, but there is nothing to compensate for this evil—no patriotism, since the cause which he is serving is the cause of the enemies and oppressors of his country, no idea of military honor, since in Poland this idea was developed only among the

nobility, no expectation of a material benefit, since the military service does not prepare him for any future position.

In Germany, and particularly in Austria, the hatred of the army is not so strong; the soldier is less isolated, he can usually go home on leave more than once; the cultural level of his companions is higher; the military authorities know much better how to interest the soldier in his work. In Austria there is still another reason why the peasant looks differently upon military service—the fidelity of the Austrian Poles to the Hapsburgs. But, even there a strong antipathy to military service persists, for some of its reasons remain always the same.

THE FAMILY MARKIEWICZ

Józef Markiewicz
Anna, his wife
Wacław (Wacio, Wacek) } his sons
Stanisław (Staś, Stasiek, Stasio) } his sons
Alfons } his sons
Elżbieta (Elżbietka, Bicia) } his daughters
Pecia } his daughters
Polcia (Apolonia) } his daughters
Zonia (Zosia, Zofia) } his daughters
Franuś (Franciszek), Pecia's husband
Grandmother (probably Anna's mother)
J. Przanowski, probably Anna's brother
Feliks } probably Anna's brothers; perhaps cousins of herself or husband
Antoni } probably Anna's brothers; perhaps cousins of herself or husband
Maćkowa, cousin of Józef or Anna
Teosia, daughter of J. Przanowski
Wacek, Teosia's husband
Maks, son of J. Przanowski
Jan Markiewicz, Józef's brother
His wife
Maks (Maksymilian) } his sons
Staś (Stasio, Stanisław) } his sons
Wiktor (Wiktorek) } his sons
Michał } his sons
Ignac } his sons

Weronika, Julka, Mania } his daughters
Grandmother (probably mother of Jan's wife)
Ziółek (Ziółkowski), her husband
Jan Ziółek, the latter's son by his first marriage
Ziółek's sister
Other relatives in Poland, in America, in Prussia, in Petersburg.

142–225, FROM MEMBERS OF THE MARKIEWICZ FAMILY, MAINLY TO WACŁAW MARKIEWICZ, IN AMERICA. 142–71 ARE FROM THE PARENTS, JÓZEF, AND ANNA; 172–77, FROM STANISŁAW; 178–84, FROM ELŻBIETKA; 185–86, FROM POLCIA; 187, FROM ALFONS; 188, FROM JAN; 189–200, FROM WIKTOR; 201–11, FROM MAKS; 212–225, FROM MICHAŁ.

142 ZAZDZIERZ, January 7, 1907

DEAR SON: We received your letter . . . . and we thank God that you are in good health, because I [your mother] have continually felt and even dreamed about you very badly, and I always remembered that dream, and we both were anxious for you. . . . . There is news that Teosia fled to America, to W. Brzezoski, but it is not certain whether the trick will succeed, because your uncle J. P[rzanowski] went in pursuit of her to Bremen. God forbid, what a meeting it will be.[1] As to grinding, there is much of it this year. Thanks to God, we shall earn enough for the household expenses. You asked about the horse. We sold him during the harvest of summer-grain. We got 24 roubles for him. I bought an ass, but I sold it at once, for it was a dog's worth [proverbial]. Now I write you that from Wincentowo there are a dozen [men] going [to America], and they beg for your address. Shall we give it to them or not? . . . . We have in our farm-stock 3 nice cows, 3 rather good hogs, 5 geese. Before winter there will be some young ones, and so we push forward our lot and our age. And Elżbietka has boys from time to time. One came as if to the mill. His name is Tokarski, from Rychlin. His sister says that if we

[1] Elopement is very rare among the peasants, and, in view of the familial character of marriage, the family is supposed to condemn severely such an attempt to avoid its control.

want [him], he has 400 roubles in a bank and he can show them for greater certainty. She says that he had a shop in Łódż. But we are not in a hurry, we only said to him that he can call upon us. Staś cannot find anything favorable; that about which I wrote you did not please us, nor him either. So he absolutely wants to go to you. How do you think? Is it worth while or not? . . . .

[Anna Markiewicz]

Dear Brother: Send soon the ship-ticket or money, or else I shall take money from here for the journey. Why, there is so much money with us! But let it rather remain;[1] I would pay you back later on. Answer at once, and write me, what I shall take of clothes, linen, and living [food], because about the middle of March I am going to you. Let me also try America! I would not spend there longer than 2 years. In our windmill there is big grinding, day and night. . . . . Answer at once, because I will leave about the middle of March.

Be healthy, be healthy [goodbye], dear son and dear brother. As to the ship-ticket, wait a little, because I want now to marry [the daughter of] Gasztyka in Topolno. If I succeed, I shan't go to America, and if I don't succeed, then I shall go.

[Stanisław M.]

143 February 10, 1907

Dear Son: . . . . We thank you for not having forgotten our need which it was absolutely necessary to satisfy. Mr. and Mrs. Goszewski moved on January 22. We gave them the money back; they refused to accept any interest, so we only thanked them. We helped them, when they moved, to pack up their baggage. In bidding them farewell, we all wept. Tadek did not want to go to Ojców; he mentioned very often Mr. W[acław] who will bring him a [wooden] horse from America. And now, when [more] money comes from you, we will at once turn it over to Pecia, and so we shall have peace once for all with these debts. . . . .

And now I write to you about Teosia. Your uncle sent a telegram to Bremen and went himself to Toruń, to your uncle F. F., and they

[1] An expression of the old qualification of economic quantities which we have treated in the Introduction: "Economic Attitudes." The peasant is reluctant to touch, even for a short time, money which has been put aside. But in this case it is rather the reluctance of the father than of the son.

sent her photograph, and the police turned the girl back to her father in Toruń. It is said that they wrote a letter to Brzezoski telling him to come, for they give the permission because of the wish of their daughter [and of her behavior]. And Staś cannot find anyone such as he would like to marry. Dear son, send us your photograph. . . . .

[Józef and Anna Markiewicz]

144 March 10, 1907

Dear Son: . . . . And now we are very sad, dear son, that you are longing for your family. But I don't marvel, because although I have them all here, I weep [for you] more than once and I pray our Lord God that you may come happily back to your family home. We will now write letters to you oftener, because it won't be so difficult [to get] to Płock, for you know how it is in winter—always snow and cold. We go there seldom, and here we have no post-office.

We received on one day the 100 roubles which you sent and on the next day we gave them to Pecia and Franuś, and 8 roubles of interest.[1] You ordered us to buy for the children [material] for dresses, so I bought it at once, and you made them very glad. They thank you. And now, dear son, when you earn as much as you can without damaging your health, send the money home, and we shall make it safe. Don't think that perhaps we will take it for our household needs; what you send now will be made safe for you once and forever. . . . . You ask about grandmother. She clucks as a hen when all her chickens have been taken away. Walentowa weeps for her boys [who are in America]; Antoniowa does not regret much [her man who went away] because she has another. Everybody whom I meet asks about you, dear son, and wishes you the best possible, and everybody says, "May God grant us to see him happily once more." We bought a good overcoat for Pecia, and in the spring we will also give her a young cow. . . . . Stasio often looks in at Dobrzyków. . . . . Something ties him, some love, nearer to the Vistula. . . . . May our Lord God help you to earn some hundred roubles that you may find your way here. Now bee-keeping is again considered a good business.

[1] This money was evidently destined originally for Pecia's dower. It had apparently been advanced to the brother in America, and as Pecia did not receive it promptly on her marriage, interest is added. The giving of interest here indicates the substitution of an economic for a purely social attitude. Under the old system the delay would have formed no reason for the payment of interest.

. . . . Elżbieta's *kum* [god-brother] said that he got 80 roubles for the honey in one year. . . . . So when our Lord God brings you back we shall will you [some land] and you can set up an orchard and beehives. . . . .

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

145 July 4, 1907

DEAR SON: . . . . We heard about a terrible accident, that Seweryniak who was in America was killed by a train, and it is true, for his brother Franciszek buried him. Dear son, be careful. May God keep you from any accident. . . . . In the autumn Alfons seriously intends going to you, but don't think that it is not a fact.[1] So answer his question. You know his strength. We say that his intention is of no use. The fathers and mothers [of the young men who went to America] and the wife of Mielczarek send you their thanks [for having received and helped the newcomers in America].

Dear son, you write us not to be surprised, that you want to marry. But we don't oppose it at all if she is only a girl with a good education.[2] Consider it well, because the state of marriage is subject to great [many] conditions. But if she pleased you, then very well. May our Lord God bless you, and we wish you with our whole heart everything the best. . . . . In fact I spoke about it myself [wishing] that you might not spend your young years on nothing. So consider it the best you can and marry. If only the girl is orderly and good, we can only rejoice. . . . . If she is from Płock, let her give you her address—if she has parents here, and where they live, so we shall get acquainted with them.

If you don't marry, send your money home, but if you have the intention [to marry], then do not.

Be healthy, be healthy, dear son.

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

146 December 5, 1907

DEAR SON: . . . . In our home everybody is healthy enough, only in Pecia's home her youngest daughter died. Stasio and Kocia

[1] This phrase is ironical. Alfons is not treated seriously by any one of the family.

[2] Showing how relatively advanced the writers are. In no other series is this question of education raised.

Białecka were the god-parents. She lived only 5 weeks. . . . . You ask about Teosia. She came home very quietly with her father and she is at home. Perhaps there somebody told tales like a gypsy, but don't believe it at all, because all that is untrue.[1] [Weather; Christmas wishes.] And your father, thanks to God, is not at all the same as he was [his character has improved]. . . . .

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

147 February 24, 1908

DEAR SON: We received your letter. . . . . We wish you to be healthy in body and soul, because this is the excellence of man. For the second year is passing already, and you don't mention anything about religion or church. Remember the admonition of your parents. For faith is the first thing, and everything else is only additional. Don't step aside from the true way. Consider it, for you can do harm to your whole family.[2]

And now I inform you that rye is 7 roubles [a bushel]. Thanks to God there is work in the windmill; the barn brings also a few bushels [for space rented?] and so we try as best we can that there may be more and more [property] for you [children].

Dear son, reflect well, if you are working beyond the ocean only for the sake of living [without saving], leave it and come to us.[3] If

[1] Evidently, such an exceptional occurrence as Teosia's flight has stirred up much gossip. This is one of the reasons why girls and boys avoid any irregularities in their marriage. Sometimes the smallest irregularity in the wedding ceremony provokes the most mischievous gossip and most wonderful interpretations.

[2] Probable meaning: "God may punish the whole family for your sins." Thus, the feeling of familial unity is carried so far as to acknowledge a common responsibility before God. The attitude is evidently not an isolated fact; common religious responsibility is still more or less admitted not only for families, but also for other social units, as villages and parishes. This has clearly nothing to do with the biblical heredity of sin and punishment: it is merely the manifestation of the group-solidarity.

[3] The new tendency to advance as against the old interest in mere living is here expressed as clearly as possible. Fifty years ago it was all right if a young member of a family, which was too poor to support all its members, earned his living by servant-work and thus spared the rest of the family his living expenses; there was not even the idea of his increasing the familial fortune for he had no wages in cash. Even now, in the Osiński series, we find this attitude, when Michał serves as a groom, for the father refuses to feed him (although this refusal, in the good economic condition of the family, is already something new). But here, with re-

you have a few hundred roubles, I will take [add] my money, and I will buy a farm somewhere for you. The inn in Dobrzyków is now for sale, or perhaps something else. . . . .

JÓZEF MARKIEWICZ

148 March 29, 1908

DEAR SON: I received your letter. I rejoiced much that you are in good health, but for another cause you make us sad, for you don't intend to come back to our country. At this moment the paper trembled in my hand or my hand shook in recording it. Why, even birds who fly away from their native place still do come back! How did you dare to pronounce such wretched [mean] words? You ought to hold to the parental exhortations. I never taught you to criticize the clergy. You know that Bonaparte shook the whole of Europe until he broke off with the head of the Church, and later—you know what became of him later! Well, I don't mention that you forgot about religion, i.e., about the greatest jewel, only that after a year you [raise yourself?] above us. What you give to the papers is bad, and it is a pity that you use your learning so, for learning is everywhere useful to man, but [your ideas] are useful to you there, but won't be when you come back. [Whole paragraph obscure and translation conjectural.] And now with us it is as it has been. . . . . As to money, we don't absolutely require you to send any when you cannot, because I try always to have a few hundred roubles on hand. Only don't forget about yourself for your later years. . . . .

I have nothing more to write, only I tell you the news. Wiktor, son of Jan, went to the army to Petersburg and there he found our family. Three sons of my father's brother are there. One of them is a higher railway-conductor, the other a physician, the third a professor. And in Prussia our family also got honors. Stasiek up to the present does not succeed [in marrying] and Elżbietka also sits at home. I end my letter with these words: May you not forget, even as swallows don't forget their native nests.

J. MARKIEWICZ

Dear son, why are you so angry and why do you answer us so severely? The girls wept after reading this letter, so that it was quite

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gard to Wacław, the situation of the family is almost brilliant when measured by peasant standards, and still Wacław should increase the fortune. If he cannot do it by working in America he ought to do it by farmer's work. If he does nothing but live on his income he is regarded as losing his time.

gloomy in the house. And we, the parents, what are we to say? You don't want to come back to us, but I don't think it true. I believe in you that you love your parents and your country. . . . .[1]

[YOUR MOTHER]

149 September 7, 1909

DEAR SON: . . . . And as to the letters from you, we had none except last year in July for my name-day. Then we answered at once and we asked you for an answer, but we received no letter until today, September 7. Dear son, believe us, there was not a day when we did not complain about your negligence, and you complain about us! Neither letter nor postcard, nothing up to the present. I don't know what happened. We have only this letter which you tell us to send to the editor [of some paper]. As for me, I fall asleep with the thought about you and I awake with the same thought; I end the day with tears and I begin it with tears. I did not understand what happened to you. Everybody at home tried to comfort me, but it was hard to wait. Your father went to Jan M[arkiewicz] in order that he might ask Maks. They said that Maks wrote about your having gone somewhere without giving any word of yourself, but they did not allow us to read the letter.

With us everything is as it has been from old; we have a horse, worth 100 roubles, a new wagon, 3 cows, 2 calves, 4 pigs worth also about 100 [roubles], etc. The crops are the average. Franuś [son-in-law] is captain [of a Vistula boat]. They bought 6 morgs of land. We have given them some money already, but we will add some more, for we must give them at least 500 roubles. Teosia and Wacek were with us for a week, but they did not say anything about any loan, so it is probably a lie. We heard that they said something to Franuś. They are all worth the same [little]. Well, God be with them. I don't see any blessing of God for them. They had only her [one daughter] and even so they came to us asking us for a hundred [roubles] for her wedding. . . . .[2]

[1] For the meaning of this letter, as showing the contrast between the old and the young generation, cf. Introduction: "Peasant Family."

[2] We see how success may assume a moral value by being conceived as the result of God's blessing. Formally this conception was introduced by the church in its endeavor to ascribe to God all the good. But the content is really older. Prosperity was a sign of a harmony between man and nature. Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

Your father was in Włocławek . . . . and called upon Edek. Edek said that he saw you in the spring and that you intend to come back to our country. If you think it good, then come. He said that you are some sort of a boss, and that you earn about $400. Can it be? Or perhaps it is only a slander of your enemies; I don't know. Your grandmother began to reproach us for your education, saying that we have praised you so much, and now you don't write. We grieve ourselves enough. All other people do write, and we don't have any news. How hard and painful it is when anybody asks us [about you]. We were quite ashamed at last. . . . . We keep the shop after Pecia. It brought us also 100 [roubles]. We all work as we can. Elżbieta is in Częstochowa and Polcia in the shop. Answer us the soonest possible. . . . .

[MARKIEWICZS]

150 March 12, 1910

DEAR SON: We received your postcard. On the one hand we are glad that you are in good health, on the other we are pained that you spend your youth in vain, doing nothing. Why, you have your own reason [you know] that it is necessary to provide somewhat in youth for old age. If you have nothing to do there, move to Europe, or, if you think it good, come home. As to the money, if you have not enough, take from Mielczarek, or simply write home and I will send you some to America. And if you borrow from Mielczarek, we will give it back here [to his parents], for some hundred roubles are ready.

What more shall I write you? I can only write you that the winter is here very severe and cold, and at home it is not quite well, because everybody was more or less unwell, particularly Elżbieta. . . . . Your aunt, Antoni's wife, is dead. And except for this, things are not bad in the household, for we have threshed and now we are grinding. And I must tell you that on March 14 is my birthday. I finish 60 years. Perhaps I shall not be able to work for a great while longer, and at least I should like to see all of you again. Your grandmother sits in her house and is farming, but badly. Uncle Feluś was with us for a few days, and your aunt also; they enjoyed our hospitality and danced. As to our country, you know probably the news.

Your father,

JÓZEF MARKIEWICZ

Dear son, we think much about it, for you grieve there perhaps very much that you have no work. But you are not alone [in having no work], so there is nothing to do. Consider it and don't grieve. Our Lord God has more [left] than He has spent. Be healthy, be healthy, dear son. . . . .

[YOUR MOTHER]

151 May 5 [1910]

DEAR SON: . . . . You keep writing always about those 100 roubles. Well, I will send them back, but remember that you don't do harm to me, but to yourself. And with me it is so: I thought that I should increase the fortune, but nothing thrives with my children, neither a good marriage with my daughters nor [a good lot] with any boy. But I return to you once more, I send you these 100 roubles. But why can others send enough money home, while you have not enough even to live or to come back? My whole dream is vain. Come here. Why should you sit there since the star [of fortune] does not shine for you? It is very bad, dear son. If you have not enough for your journey, take from Mielczarek. We will give it back here. Right now land and other property open [for sale], but if you have no money to buy—well, perhaps God will give it.[1]

Your father,

J. MARKIEWICZ

152 June 20 [1910]

DEAR SON: In our home everybody is in good health. As to Staś, it is always the same, ... and as to Elżbieta, she won't marry Janek; she has changed her views already. In our field the rye is average, the peas not very good, the wheat nice, the potatoes nice. Our horse is nice, our cattle as nice as never before, we have 4 cows big with calves and one young cow, we have sold one cow and got 60 roubles, and for the calf 4 roubles; we have pigs, ducks, of all

[1] Plainly the fundamental life-interest of the old man is to increase the fortune of the whole family, to arrange rich marriages for his children, to have them all in the neighborhood, prosperous, respected by the community, keeping the traditional attitudes and ideals in harmony with his own, solidarity among themselves, sufficiently instructed to play an active part in communal life, and always obeying the father. The position of head of such a family is the highest one of which an old type of a peasant can dream.

poultry we have more than 100 pieces; there is a nice amount of work. This is not all. We must often help Pecia, because they are building a barn and have made a shack for themselves of the stable. Later on they will build a house, and Pecia has nice rye, potatoes, peas, etc. So in general everything is succeeding well enough with us, only we have the worst trouble with Stasiek, although I did not want to grieve you. When he came from the army he seemed to be healthy for a few days, but then came a continuous cough, and pains in the breast, belly, hands, feet, etc.—everything. After he has been better for a few days, then all this returns. Always nothing but the doctor and the drug-store. I have already proposed to have the doctor and the drug-store move into our house. What can I do? I have grieved and wept enough; it fell upon [settled in] my eyes, which are worse than ever. And now, dear son, don't care about anybody, only mind about yourself. For nowadays people are even too clever when they want to get other people's good, but they keep well their own. . . . .[1] I did not write you for so long a time because I had hoped to write you something new [Elżbieta's marriage], but she says that the lot which she would have now with him may be still had 10 years hence. . . . . You asked what scabs the children had. Very dangerous ones, for it was scarlet fever. Now, thanks to God, they are recovered. . . . . Many different people are visiting us now, as always when there are girls at home. Even sometimes the chief forester [from the manorial forest] of Łąck comes with his wife. Well, you can imagine how it must be [how troublesome and expensive] but all this is done for the children. You know, dear son, often when they amuse themselves, father comes to me and says: "Ah, if Wacek came now, what a joy it would be."

[Anna Markiewicz]

153 August 8 [1910]

Dear Son: . . . . As to your marriage about which you wrote, we are very satisfied. If only the girl is as you want her to be, let our Lord God bless you. We all wish you with a single voice:

[1] The complaints of old people about the avarice and unreliability of the present generation, which we find in many letters, seem to have a real ground. With the dissolution of the old solidarity the old norms regulating economic relations disappear, while the new norms, corresponding to the individualistic stage of economic life (business-honesty) have not yet developed.

"Whatever is the best in the world, may God grant it to you." But consider well what you intend to do.

[Crops.] Your father went just now with Franek to put the wings on the windmill; it will take some weeks. Stasio is grinding flour, Alfons is mowing peas, Elżbietka is sewing a dress, we all push the work farther on. . . . . You write about Brońcia. She has already got married. She married the baker about whom I wrote you, who wanted our Elżbietka, but she did not want him. . . . . Write us, Wacio, what is your betrothed occupied with and in whose house she lives, for here people say that she went to her uncle. . . . .[1]

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

154 [September 13, 1910]

DEAR SON: After returning from that miraculous place [Częstochowa] I am healthy enough, as well as all of us at home, but we are much grieved that you are not in good health. . . . . I begged God's Mother for health and good success for you all. And now, dear son, don't be angry with us about this loan to your aunt [for not having lent her your money], for she has the mouth in the right spot [talks much and knows what to say]. And now we will give Pecia 400 roubles, because they will buy that house from Jakubowski. . . . .

[YOUR MOTHER]

Dear son, mark it well, if your health does not favor you, return home, for why should you do penance there? Here is bread enough in my house. You gave me the order to lend a few hundred of złoty to Maćkowa, but surely you know how I lent 50 roubles to her brother and could not get them back for 10 years. You know that it is easy to let money go away while it is difficult to put it together. An incident like this happened a month ago with Mr. Mroczkowski who lived in our house during the summer. When he left he took 15 roubles from us. Stasiek was too credulous, and now I don't know

[1] The letter shows how the control of the family over the individual is lost. There is no mention at all of the girl's dowry, in spite of the father's formerly expressed wishes, and only a discreet attempt (in the last phrase) to learn anything more about her personality and family. The parents agree with their son's wish, and they dare only to advise him "to consider the matter well." The attitude is totally different toward the other son, who stays at home; here the parents show more clearly what are their wishes, and the son could hardly marry a girl who did not please his parents. Compare this letter with No. 145.

when he will get them. I beg you, don't send any more such [orders]. If you need money, I can send it to you. Moreover, I did not forget what Mrs. [ironical] Maćkowa said last year when she met Andzia. . . . . She reproached you for living with her son, saying that you settled in his house and filled your belly with his food—as if you did not pay for boarding! [Crops and weather.]

Y[our] f[ather],

J. Markiewicz

155 November 1 [1910]

Dear Son: . . . . Walenty in Dobrzyków built a small mill upon his water [in competition with us], but he grinds [only] three quarters of once-ground flour a day. Well, we don't know how it will be later. As to Elżbietka, she has a boy, a butcher from Lubień. I don't know whether she will marry him or not, but she says that this winter she will surely decide. If not this one, then another. I have trouble enough now for my [sins]. Always new guests, always some new fashions, always these new things, so that my income does not suffice.

And you know that [your] father always says so: "When anything is not there, we can do without it." But sometimes it must be had, even if it must be cut out from under the palm of the hand! So, dear son, I beg you very much, if you can, send me a little money, but for my needs. Bicia [Elżbieta] is grown up, Polcia is bigger still, Zonia begins to overtake them, and they all need to be dressed, while it is useless to speak to your father about it. If you can, send it as soon as possible, because if I sell some cow, or hog, or grain, it must be put aside; [your father says that] it cannot be spent. We gave Pecia 100 and 200, but we must still give 200. Bicia also [must have money], so we must put money aside. Well, we have nice hogs, nice cattle, and a nice horse, but I must work conscientiously for all this. Your father just excuses himself with his years and I may work with the children so that my bones crack. He says: "Then don't keep [so much farm-stock], don't work. Do I order you [to do all this]?" But when he wants anything, he requires it. As to the crops, everything is not bad . . . . only we must work so much. Bicia is continually in the shop, she has pupils and sews. Zonia will help her presently, and so we push things further and further. You write us that you won't be the best man [at your sisters' weddings]. It is hard

for me to read this and my tears flow. Well, let God's Mother of unceasing Help not forget you. . . . .[1]

Your truly loving mother,

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

156 February 6 [1911]

DEAR SON: We received . . . . 50 roubles for which we thank you. . . . . We bought a fur [sheep] coat for Staś for 34 roubles, and for the rest two dresses, one for Bicia and one for Polcia. [Sickness of the children.] As to Elżbieta, there is to be a wedding, but not till after Easter, because he has a brother in America, so they wait until he comes and stays with his family [parents], for it is impossible for her to go there [to her husband's parents]. Let them rather set up a place of their own, when the matter comes to that.[2] And Stasiek is walking and walking [in search of a wife] but I don't know when he will "walk out" anything for himself. . . . . I don't remember whether I wrote you that one of Pecia's children died, a nice little boy, half a year old. [Stock sold and bought, windmill, shop, money received from debtors, farm-work.] We wish you good health, happiness and good success in the new year. Get married, don't mind A. T.,[3] because it is of no use. . . . .

[MARKIEWICZS]

157 June 3 [1911]

DEAR SON: We received your letter . . . . and once 200 roubles, and again 50 roubles. Thanks be to God that He allowed you to earn them. We thank you for this money. We will put it in a safe place. If you can, send even more, it won't be lost. [Health, weather,

[1] The difference in the economic attitudes of the man and the woman is here most typically expressed. The man is exclusively interested in the welfare and social standing of the family as a whole; he seems to have very little understanding of the particular, actual needs of any member of the family. The woman, on the contrary, understands the latter very well and sympathizes with the members of the family whenever they lack anything actually and individually, but seems to have no real eagerness to contribute to the fulfilment of her husband's general plans.

[2] It would be bad form if a girl with Elżbieta's social standing went to live with her husband's parents, for it would look as if she had not dowry enough and he could not earn enough to start their own home, even if in this case the real cause were that the boy's parents needed the help of one son.

[3] Evidently a girl, and probably one whom he did not succeed in marrying.

crops.] We have 1 horse, 4 cows, 1 young cow, a young bull of good breed . . . . pigs, 22 geese, turkeys, ducks, chickens; we have more than 100 pieces of poultry in general, because we are preparing for a wedding. Elżbieta will now at last marry that Janek K. She did not want him, but evidently it is God's will for her, for she despised him, but he did his best to please her again. But the wedding won't be sooner than September, because he is as far as Sandomierz, on a government ship. He has not the worst salary. It will be as God grants. We must buy everything for her and give her away; nothing can be done. You ask about Pecia and Franuś. They were sick in the winter, first F., then P., then the children; they spent a nice sum of money! But now, thanks to God, they are in good health. The children loaf about, Pecia rocks the boy to sleep [calls to the others:] "You, don't touch that," "You, put that down." She is always shooing them off. Franuś, since he mounted the boat of Mrs. Jaworska, is sailing up to the present as captain. He does his best. Perhaps our Lord God won't refuse happiness also to that other [son-in-law], for Elżbieta is a good, honest, orderly girl. Nothing is amiss with her. We hoped something else for her. Well, nothing can be done. Polcia is also a good girl, but surely she will soon become a loafer. They sing in the church in the choir, beautifully, it is true, but I have the more to do. Well, let them know that they have a mother. . . . . Stasiek wants to marry, but only if we will him [the farm]. What do you say to this? What shall we do? . . . .

[Anna Markiewicz]

158 [August–September?] 15, 1911

Dear Son: We and Elżbieta received your letters. . . . . As to Elżbieta, she postponed all this to future times. Well, you have no idea how great a regret it was for Janek, but she did not care much about it. Well, nothing can be done; she is not for him. She won't despise the man who will be suited to her. Perhaps at last she will choose. We had some expenses, and he also, but nothing can be done. A girl with such a character as Elżbieta's is not easily found, so it is no wonder if she prizes herself much.[1] Even now she was in Płock taking

[1] The case of Elżbieta is frequent in the lower classes. In a family which rises above its class the condition of a girl is much worse than that of a boy. The latter has already risen when he has a higher instruction and a better position, and

business lessons, so she profited once more somewhat. Thanks to God, Zosia will be clever also. Well, I work much for them, but what can be done? As to our grinding, we earn poorly now, because such an executioner [accursed big mill] is built in Gąbin as suffices for everybody. [Crops.] Everywhere only work and work, so that the bones lap one over another, but what can be done? But, unhappily my teeth already decline absolutely to work, so I must have some put in, but I have not money enough for it, for I have enough other things to spend it on. So if it would not be a great detriment to you, I would beg you for a few roubles for my teeth, but if not, it cannot be helped. Even if I breed anything [and sell], either some clothes must be bought for one child, or another calls for something else, or the boy must be paid who tends the cattle. And your father won't know anything about [have anything to do with] all this. [Greetings from the whole family and for all the relatives who are in America.]

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

Maks [Przanowski], send me those 100 roubles back. I think that I have waited long enough. I beg you very much.

[I. M.]

159 November 5, 1911

DEAR SON: In our home everybody is in such health as a worm-eaten nut, but everybody pushes slowly his lot. . . . . It is not well in our home. Stasiek would be glad to marry, but only if somebody gave him bread, a knife, butter, a good sofa to sit upon, etc., but don't speak to him about working: "I am tired," "I don't want to," "I cannot," etc. Don't speak to him about this or that to be done,

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marriage is for him in this respect a secondary matter. But a girl cannot rise socially, unless by marriage; instruction, relative refinement, do not put her immediately above the level of her class, but only prepare the way to a better marriage, make her fit to rise through marriage. But in a milieu in which the conditions of life are difficult and the tendency to rise is strongly developed such a girl will with difficulty find an opportunity to marry above her class, as the men also prefer to marry above theirs. But a refined girl is not easily reconciled to marriage with a man of her own class, and thus her condition is not enviable. The usual result is that, after waiting for a good match which does not come, she finally resigns, fearing to remain an old maid more than to marry below her aspirations. These aspirations are then transferred to her children.

because he does not care much about anything. Let him be.[1] I don't wish many people what I have [of trouble]. As to Elżbieta, the heart must weep! A pretty, graceful girl, skilful, honest, trained as no other in the family—well, and there is nobody whom it would suit her to marry. So she intends to go to a school. She wants to learn to be a teacher. We don't know how she will succeed, because she is only just now going to make inquiries. I will write you in another letter. If only our Lord God saves us from any accident to the [sick] horse . . . . for it would be [a loss of] 120 roubles. God forbid it!

You ask about your trees. They bore cherries, pears, apples; there were a few olives, and nice wild pears. We sold fruit for a nice score of roubles, as never before, because the summer was very dry and hot. In Pecia's home everybody is in good health. They live on their own land, they made a shack of that stable and live there for the present. Next year they will perhaps build a house. Genia Jaworska is going to marry, but our girls don't even look at such young men. The other who now has Bronka wanted to come to Elżbieta but she refused. Now this one also wanted [to marry her], but she will not even listen. Well, I don't know who will be better off.

You write about your marrying. Decide as you please, provided only that you are happy, and that which is good and nice for you will be that also for us. May our Lord God bless you. . . . .

Zosia is growing, a nice little girl. Soon she will be as big as her mother. She is intelligent enough, she sews not badly. Polcia is not [intelligent], she is only a housekeeper, a scrub-woman, an ironer, a laundress—all of them.

Your sincerely loving parents,

J. [and] Anna M.

Our horse just died. A horse and 3 pigs! It is a nice comedown! We shall not overtake it soon!

[1] Stasiek is probably demoralized by his military service, and his bad health. But it is very probable that his unwillingness to work is to a great extent due to the loss of family interests and to the lack of personal interests. (Cf. his letters.) The family life is organized by the father upon the old basis of familial unity; each child has to work, not for himself personally, but for the benefit of the whole group. But Stasiek has no longer this attitude, and perhaps his long and fruitless search for a wife is caused by his wish to become independent.

160 January 20, 1912

DEAR SON: We received your letter . . . . for which we thank you heartily, but . . . . don't be such a cause of grief to your family. You know that we all grieve about you [when we have no news]; when anything bad or good happens to you, share it with us, as we do with you. . . . . In our home everybody is healthy enough. There is sufficient grinding, as much as there is wind. Our farm-stock is, 4 cows big with calves, one young cow, 6 pigs which are worth about 100 roubles, geese, ducks, etc. . . . . Our crops are average. . . . . Pecia's children are somewhat ill, because scabs are spread out in our neighborhood. In Tokary, Dobrzyków, many people lie sick with scabs. Walenty's Witek came from the army and has smallpox, Antoni's Maks has smallpox. Antoni has been sick for more than a year. He lies almost continually. She lies sick also, with swelling of the liver. . . . . Bulkoski's wife died just now. In our home up to the present everybody is well enough, but we don't know how it will be later. Stasio is walking here and there [in search of a wife]. Well, I don't know. As to Elżbieta, if anybody wants her she does not want him, so I don't know how it will be, whether she will win or lose. Well, it will be as God grants. She cuts and sews, she sings religious and dancing songs, she has a pupil [in sewing], the girl of Jan Seweryniak, and so she passes her moments. When Sunday comes Andrzej Kusio calls upon them and plays, they dance a little. One and another comes, boys from the manor-farm, and we amuse ourselves. Polcia has grown bigger than Pecia and Elżbieta; when she comes from the kitchen to the room, it [the door] is full of her from the top to the bottom. She works at home and helps Elżbieta. Zonia goes to school and learns. We have a new teacher, but an orthodox [Russian], so we don't have any friendly relations with her. . . . . You ask who got married. [Enumerates 7 marriages.] We had 200 roubles with Fijołek, he paid us the sum and the interest; and Matusiak and everybody paid us back. Write us whether you have any cash. . . . . Everybody who comes to us, asks what you wrote and whether you are in good health, and asks us to greet you: "From me also," "And from me." . . . .

YOUR PARENTS and FAMILY

Dear brother, I am addressing this letter in the home of my betrothed, in Gombin, in the house of Pokorski the tile-maker. Our

father and mother are here expressly for the first [preliminary] betrothal. The marriage is to be after Easter, so don't send the ship-ticket.

[STANISŁAW]

161 March 17, 1912

DEAR SON: . . . . I beg you, write letters home oftener, for why should we grieve so much about you? In our house everybody is in good health, but in Pecia's house Feluś has spent the whole winter in getting well, for he caught cold. Well, now he is already sailing upon the ship. And Pecia, you know while she was yet [a girl] at home said: "I must not eat the breakfast, for I shall be thick," or "I must squeeze myself tightly with the corset." Well, and now the results of all this show themselves. Now that she is married, she is sickly. . . . .[1] Jan [Markiewicz] boasts that Maks has already sent some thousand roubles home, that he has there almost 10,000 roubles, that he passed an examination as engineer, and he says: "Your Wacław is also going to this school." And your father answers him: "You are stupid, say 'yes'!" If you intend to send some money, send it; we shall place it here. Don't be afraid, we won't do as your grandparents did. [Incomes and expenses; weather.] And beware of these "engineers" and locksmiths and cabinet-makers, because both sides [the parents here and the sons there] are worth the same. When they [Jan M.] receive a letter, and your father is there, they never give it to him to read, because there are always some secrets from that "engineer.". . . .[2]

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

162 October 20 [1912]

DEAR SON: We received your last letter . . . . for which we thank you heartily. You pained us [in writing] that your teeth are

[1] Pecia also tried to rise above her class. The purely peasant girl does not resort to lacing and keeping down her weight but uses external ornamentation instead. After her marriage Pecia falls back into the peasant ideals of land-owning and successful farming. Her imitation of town-manners is purely superficial, while Elżbieta tends to acquire an interior culture.

[2] There is evident rivalry between the two brothers, Józef and Jan, and their families, on the score of social standing. Jan's family is more successful, and hence the envy manifested in this letter. The term "engineer," properly applied to a graduate of a higher polytechnical school, is sometimes used by courtesy of graduates of lower technical schools, and hence again the irony and incredulity of the old man.

aching, but that is nothing new, for such is their habit at present. In our home now it is somewhat different, for it was very bad, because I was very sick. I got sick on the way from church on September 10. I was so terribly sick with vomiting and headache on the field of Jankowski that I could not come home alone. Well, they helped me with whatever was possible, but I was in such danger that they had to bring the priest at once, and then the doctor.[1] With the help of a medicine I got a little better, but I lay for two weeks. Now I can walk and I work a little but my head pains me a little still. The money from you has come already; we will get it and put it in the bank. We will add 100 roubles and put 200 together. . . . . We lent 200 roubles to Fijołkowski [Fijołek].[2] . . . . We sold a horse, pigs, a cow and geese, and we got 300 roubles, and these from you will make 400 together. If your health favors you, earn whatever you can and send us; it won't be lost for you here. [Crops.] You ask about your god-son. He is growing, a nice boy, he says always that his god-father will bring him a horse from America. Pecia bore another child, a daughter. We sold more than 8 bushels of pears. Old Seweryniak died. Be healthy.

[Anna Markiewicz]

Dear son, you need not fear [on account of a possible war], for everybody here is very calm. The only thing is that you should not return with your hands empty, because, you know, if you want to pay [your brothers and sisters] off, you must have some hundreds of roubles, and if you don't wish [to take my farm], then another farm will be bought, for Franuś has also 400 roubles of cash . . . . [and could take my farm].

Józef Markiewicz

[1] In case of a dangerous sickness it is the habit to bring *first* a priest, and only afterward the doctor; the care for the soul is considered more important than the care for the body, and it would be worse to neglect the opportunity of the patient's making peace with God than to neglect the possibility of his recovery through immediate help. To understand this better, we must remember that the old peasant is not afraid of dying, provided he has religious help and time enough to make his dispositions.

[2] Note the change in the name. In No. 160 the man is called "Fijołek." The old peasant names never ended in "ski" or "cki," which, dating from the fifteenth century, were the endings of the names of the nobility (etymologically adjectives, formed from the names of the estates). Lately the peasants (following the bourgeoisie) have begun to imitate the form by adding these suffixes to their names. But this is not done in Galicia, where class-consciousness is stronger.

163 March 26, 1913

DEAR SONS: We thank God that you saw one another healthy and happy. Love one another, as you did formerly in school, for we believe that you love one another sincerely and that you don't wish one another evil, but good. . . . . Our whole family is in good health, only in Jan's house one of the girls died, but perhaps there will be added one more instead, because Maks intends to marry Miss Dobrowolska. [Farm-work.] That man Bużański comes often to Polcia, and we don't know what to do. Advise us what to do. Fijołkowski intends to sell the 6 morgs near us. Perhaps we shall take them.

Dear sons, I beg you very much to send me a few roubles for my teeth, because I must have new ones set in, and I hate to spend money]which is put aside]. Perhaps you have more, then send me. . . . .

And now, dear Wacio, care for Staś as you cared once for me in my sickness. May our Lord God reward you for it! . . . .

Your loving mother,

ANNA MARKIEWICZ

164 April 26 [1913]

DEAR SONS: . . . . Alfons sold that old horse and bought a young one, 3 years old, good for eating and for pulling and for everything; but his hip was somewhat injured. It was so difficult to notice that at the fair Prussian Jews bought him and did not know it. Even so, Alfons made a profit of 6 roubles, and the horse's work was worth 10 roubles. He [the horse] remained 6 weeks with us.

And Andrzej is calling upon us as often as before [courting Polcia]. Surely we must consider it and finish this business. . . . . Our shop is sold; we gathered in all 100 roubles and there is still a little credited to people, but there will be always those who won't pay. . . . . Jankowski moved beyond the Vistula. He had borrowed 100 roubles more and owed us 200, but when he was to move, he came to us and calmed us,[1] paid the whole 200 roubles back, and interest, and offered 7 roubles for the sake of good feeling. But we took only 4 roubles in order that there might always be good feeling between us. . . . .[2]

[1] To "calm the creditors" is an old expression for paying debts.

[2] Survival of the old custom connected with the lending of *naturalia*. When a natural product borrowed for productive purposes yielded more than was expected, a return was made greater than the amount agreed upon. This custom survived in money loans, but is rare. Cf. Introduction: "Economic Attitudes."

I am astonished, how you can write such things, that we don't care for you. Only beyond the grave father and mother [part with] their children. . . . .

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

165 July 3 [1913]

DEAR CHILDREN: . . . . I answer only now, because we have such different circumstances. Elżbietka's betrothed was here in the end of June, Edward Topolski, about whom you know. So perhaps now her maidenhood will come to an end. . . . . As to Polcia, she will probably marry this Andrzej, because she won't hear to anybody else, and he waits as if for God's mercy [for our decision]. . . . .

We have a great sorrow, my children, because Alfons bought a mare for 130 roubles which won't pull at all, particularly when going alone, and working double she pulls only badly. Alfons has now enough to listen to. But he is worth much, for he is clever! [Ironical]. [Farm-stock, farm-work, crops, money loaned.] And now I beg you, my children, economize in order to bring some token [money from America], because my strength decreases. My eyes, hands and feet begin to refuse obedience. . . . .

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

166 November 27 [1913]

DEAR SONS: We received the letter and the money from you. Thanks to God that you are in good health, because in our house everybody is in good health and in Pecia's house also. Franuś is still working on the ship. As to money, you [singular] have in the bank 600 roubles and with [loaned to] Pecia 50 roubles, but you told us to give her 10 roubles, so only 40 are left with her. I told her that you wrote me to lend her the whole 100 roubles, but on her note, so she was very much offended and refused. But you are right, quite right, because a note is necessary. Don't think that I am not good to her, but she demands a little too much, for there are others also to take, and only one to give, and it is right to remember them all alike. The news: Władzia, Walenty's daughter, got married. We were at the wedding. She married Guziński of Płock. The Świeckis' windmill is burned. Maks [Przanowski] has not yet paid us the money back. We have 3 stacks of seradella. We have 3 cows big with calves, one bull, one young bull, one chestnut horse, one pig worth about 50 roubles, 12 turkeys, etc. The children have gathered [leaves for]

litter. Now they will bring wood. . . . . Wincenty Przanowski died. We have a little grinding, but not much. . . . . As to Polcia, she won't be surely glad [married] before carnival. We wait for Elżbieta [to be married], but probably it will be necessary to give [permission ?] to Polcia, because it is difficult for all of them to sit at home.[1] . . . .

Your loving parents and family,

JÓZEF and ANNA MARKIEWICZ

167 December 15 [1913]

DEAR SONS: . . . . We received your letter and 30 roubles, for which I thank you heartily, for we had just been in Radziwi and gave the sheep-skins to line the coat when the postman gave us the money. . . . . I am glad, and Alfons also, for father always says: "Don't make big expenses" . . . . and now we can buy what we need without touching father's money. . . . . You ask me how much money there is in all. In the bank in Gąbin there are 600 roubles of Wacuś [Wacław] and 600 of ours . . . . and Fijołkowski has [borrowed] 200 [ours] and 400 of yours [Stasio] and 50 of Pecia. There is so much in all. . . . . We should have more money but for that trading of Alfons. He lost 100 roubles on the mare, and then we had to give 152 for the horse. Well, but people say that if the horses are so dear in the summer, he will be worth 200. Well, perhaps our Lord God will comfort us. But stealing is developed beyond measure. From Andrzej's brother-in-law they stole horses and a wagon. They did a damage of 500 roubles. . . . . Well, may God avert them. You ask about the Americans. They earned well enough, but . . . . most of them came back. Still, if they had had no work they would not have brought such nice money. . . . . But, dear children, mind your health like the eye in your head. As to Elżbietka, Topolski writes letters. Well, at carnival we shall do [something about it], either to the left or to the right. And with Polcia we will soon make an end [get her married].

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

[1] According to a custom almost universal among the Polish peasants, the older daughter should always marry before the younger one. The parents are therefore very unwilling to give the younger daughter away before the older is married, and if such a case happens, they often refuse to give her any dowry before the older has received her part. And the younger daughter considers it a family duty to wait until her older sister is married. In this case the situation is difficult because Elżbieta is too particular in her choice. Therefore Polcia is tired of waiting and angry, and the parents are half-decided to give her away before Elżbieta.

168 January 23 [1914]

DEAR SONS: [Question of getting a passport for Stasio, to cross the boundary returning.] Rosa's son sent [from America] 650 roubles, and Seweryniak's son 600, etc., but is it true? I did not count it. And you, Stasio, care for yourself. Dear children, we have also wept on Christmas and we thought about you and we talked [wondered] what you are doing there. But Alfons said, "They are better there than I am here, because these 3 girls [sisters] beat me and don't even let me cry." Such is the only son whom I have now. At least when I had you, Stasio, it was possible, but now—God forbid![1] Andrzej got a basket [the mitten], and there is somebody else in his place. . . . . Elżbietka has a young man from Płock, a tailor, and his parents have a farm near Bodzanów. He claims he has 1,000 roubles. He wished [to marry] at once at carnival, but we postponed it until after Easter, in order not to burn ourselves [be too hasty]. She has other boys still, and Polcia also. . . . .

[ANNA MARKIEWICZ]

169 April 14 [1914]

[Generalities about health and letter-writing.] Here in our papers is [written], that in America there has been a very great storm and terrible rains. We are very anxious what is the news with you. Write us at once about your being saved, because here everyone speaks differently. . . . . Please answer, because we don't believe these gypsy [cheating] papers. We shall probably get Polcia married to that Andrzej. What do you say to it? [Weather; crops; general news about friends.]

Your truly loving

[MARKIEWICZS]

[1] Alfons evidently loves farming, and particularly horses, and helps at home and is without any personal claims. There is almost no mention of him in the letters written before Stanisław went to America. After this, as the only son at home, he begins to play some part. He is the least loved, as is evident from the manner in which the mother speaks of him. He is not at all stupid, as is shown by his letter, but probably is rather unpractical and diffident outside of farming matters. This may even be the result of the manner in which he is treated at home. In almost every numerous family there is a child worst treated, least loved, and most exploited. (Władek and Broniś, in the autobiography forming the third volume of this series, are cases of this kind.) Perhaps the source of it is some prepossession on the part of the parents against the child, assumed either because he is not standard in his traits, or because he was not desired in an already too numerous family.

170 May 1 [1914]

DEAR SONS: . . . . We are grieved that you have no work, but we are glad that you are in good health, because money is an acquired thing, while health is an important thing. You wrote, Stasio, that you would come; we expected you from day to day, but you did not come. So we don't know whether you have occupation or not. We are very curious, for a man without work has still worse thoughts [*sic*]. Well, but nothing can be done. There is something for you to come back to, [our] poverty is not yet so great. You can have bread and more than bread, so don't grieve. [Description of the farm-stock and the work.]

[MARKIEWICZS]

171 June 12, [1914]

DEAR SON: We received your 2 letters after the arrival of Stasio. When he arrived, we thought that you would come also, but Stasio himself regrets [leaving] those wages. He says that it is a golden land as long as there is work, but when there is none, then it is worth nothing. Earn, dear son, some hundreds [and come back] to your fatherland. [Conditions bad; dryness; windmill ruined.] You ask, dear son, what your father said about the goods [probably household-goods or clothing]. Well, he rejoiced. He said that Stasio robbed you too much. Still he is satisfied. You ask about this scoundrel [probably Maks Przanowski, who owed them 100 roubles]. He does not even show himself; we must take a complaint [to court]. As to your grandmother, they all arrange this. Grandmother does not think; they write [in her name?]. Well, grandmother wants now to move to us. But your father is honey and sugar, and your grandmother gall and pepper. Whoever has tried it knows the taste. Oh, I have enjoyed during my whole life this honey with this sugar; I have it often under every nail! But what can be done? It is the will of God.

Elżbietka is sewing beyond Bodzanów, for she is bored at home. What she wants, a man that she could love, cannot be found, while she does not want those whom she has a chance to marry. Surely, Polcia will overtake her [marry first]. Stasiek is weighing [his decision] as upon a scale. If he had a ready fortune, he would risk it. But what if he has no health? . . . .

The heat is terrible. . . . . Everything is burned upon the fields and dwindles away while we look. . . . . We just decided today that [Polcia's] wedding will be at the end of August, but I don't know how it will be with your father, because he always says so, "If anything is not there, you can do without it." We cannot do without it, for it must be [a good marriage-feast and bride's outfit], and this year is so heavy for me, and so dry. The last was with water, this one is with heat. . . . . And I must buy many things, since I promised the wedding for the end of August. So if you can, send me a few dollars. But if you have none to spare, don't send them, for we are at home, and you are outside. . . . .

YOUR LOVING MOTHER

172 February 10 [1907]

DEAR BROTHER: Those 50 roubles which you sent have been received, but not yet the 100. Dear brother, I have been everywhere [visited all the girls in the neighborhood], but I don't succeed in finding anyone suitable. Probably I shall come to you in the spring. . . . . Now I want to marry Andzia, Młodziejewski's daughter; you know her. Just today I sent an interceder [match-maker] to him, and in a few days I will go myself. She pleased me very much, and our mother also, only our whole family from Dobrzyków did not like her at all. But you know that Młodziejewski will give 6 morgs to Zych and 12 to Andzia. Only it is said that he does not want her to get married before he builds [new farm-buildings]. So I will now speak with him; if he is willing to get her married in autumn, then I will wait, but if perhaps only in 2 years, then I will go for this time to you. If he willed her these 12 morgs, I would marry her and I would wait even till autumn or even till carnival. You know her very well, so write me what you think about her and how do you like all this. . . . . I was in the last week of the carnival at a wedding in the house of the Białeckis in Dobrzyków, but the wedding was not very good. She [B's daughter] married Józef Kłosiński. I got acquainted with Andzia at this wedding, for I did not know her before. . . . . As to the grinding, I have always grain to grind, sometimes 40 bushels lie in reserve. . . . .

Y[our] b[rother],

STA[NISŁAW] MARKIEWICZ

173 February 24, 1907

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . An awful multitude of people are going from here to America. Uliczny from Wincentowo—you know him—wants to send his boy, but he asks you how it is there. The boy intended to go right now, but his father stopped him and won't allow him to go until the letter comes from you. [Asks about the new conditions of landing in United States.]

Dear brother, I will surely marry, but not until the autumn, that Andzia, as I wrote you in my last letter. . . . .

We gave Pecia her money back, but we have not yet paid the interest. . . . .

The farmers from Zazdzierz say that you were to send 15 roubles for a feast [for them]; but don't do it. . . . .

STANISŁAW MARKIEWICZ

174 [June 4, 1907]

[Following his mother's letter of the same date.]

And I have already left [the girl from] Dobrzyków, I go now to Gostynno, to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Bukowski, to Mania. You know her since you were called to the mobilization with Goszewski. They speak about you, and even now you have a greeting from them. They are all very favorable to me, but I don't know how it will turn out. Our wedding is not to be celebrated until autumn. As you know her, write me anything about her. I was pleased very much with this Maryanna [Mania]. If they only keep their word, then it will be at last the end with my marrying. Write such a letter as I could read to them, and only a [separate] bit about Mania herself. Well, you know yourself how to do. Our crops are average.

This Mania has nationalist ideas like myself, and through this she pleased me much. And how beautifully she plays the accordeon! Every second Sunday she plays to me, and so we spend our time gaily in Gostynno. . . . .

Your brother,

STA[NISŁAW] MARKIEWICZ

175 [September 13, 1910]

DEAR BROTHER: When you notice that the conditions [in America] improve, inform me at once; then I shall go to America. Here nothing succeeds. I have begun now going to Radziwie to a girl, but

I don't know anything, for here, as you know, none of us succeeds in marrying at all, and what can be done? See here, Ignac came from the army in the spring and he marries Andzia, Młodziejewski's daughter, while I don't succeed. I already intended to write you to send me a ship-ticket, but wait still a little. When I learn that there will be no result in Radziwie, then I will write you at once to send me a ship-ticket, and I will work it back.

STA[NISŁAW] MAR[KIEWICZ]

176 October 23, 1910

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I don't know what to do, because if I were as healthy as formerly I would have asked you for a ship-ticket long ago and I should be there already, but I am afraid because of this rheumatism. Just now I have lain in bed for 3 weeks. Now I am a little better. I went to the doctor. It will be necessary to go more than once, but our father does not want to give me money. He nags me still worse than he did you, but not the other children, only me. He simply drives me away. Since I came from the army and my clothes and overcoat were bought, I have been walking in them up to the present. Now winter is coming and I have no clothes for winter warm enough, on account of my rheumatism. Father said beforehand that he wouldn't buy any, and he drives me away to the factory to earn for a sheep-skin coat while I am still sick. And so often I must go to town for goods. You know that nominally I own the small shop in Wincentowo, though it goes lamely, because they take everything home without counting, so whatever we earn, everything will get into the household. Last year we put 60 roubles into the business, now we have 120 in spite of such a big expense. But I can take nothing from this. When I bought a cap once father told everywhere that I would spend the whole shop-stock for my needs. Every week I sell about 40 roubles of goods. Mostly Elżbietka keeps the shop now. As soon as I recover, I will probably throw everything up. I will draw the money [from the shop], pay my father the debt back and go to America, because I am tired of the life with father.[1] If you only send me a ship-ticket I will most gladly work

[1] The letter shows a total lack of understanding between the young and the old generation. The father is not an egotist; he simply does not acknowledge the personal interests of his son as separated from the interests of the family. And the son has totally lost the old feeling of familial solidarity. Only, the father goes too

back whatever I shall owe you. . . . . Why, there is not such misery at home. There are about 600 roubles of cash, we bought a horse for 100 roubles, a cart for 40, we gave 100 roubles to Franuś. Now, indeed, we must give him more, because he has bought 6 morgs in Tokary . . . . at 275 roubles a morg, and without buildings. She lives as she did, and he sails as captain upon the ship of Mrs. Jaworska. He earns 40 roubles a month in summer, and we don't know yet how much in winter. Elżbietka has a suitor. You knew Stasiek. . . . . Well, it is the brother of his wife who is courting Elżbietka. He is a butcher from Lubień; they have a cured-meat shop. They were here on Sunday. Now he intends to come to us next week to buy our hogs. We have 4 worth 120 roubles. . . . . I will go to Lubień and learn what reputation he enjoys. He has two sisters. They want me to take one of them. They are two brothers; one of them is in America. Their father and mother are dead. Their name is Topolski. We know one another already, for his sisters were at our house. The older is a beautiful woman, only there is nothing [no money]. When I recover, I will try, but today I shall write a letter to Miss Plebanek in Jarosław, asking for her hand. If I don't succeed there, I will surely try in Lubień, but if even here nothing [results], then I will write you, "Send me a ticket or money." . . . .

STANISŁAW MARKIEWICZ

177 December 31, 1912

DEAR BROTHER: You must help me in this, because I must now leave the home, for you know there better than we do what is going on here in our country. Your answer will perhaps find me at home and perhaps not. Father won't give me [money] for the journey, so I must borrow from somebody. This is a shame indeed. Our father, though there are 600 roubles cash at home and 400 lent to people, says that he won't give me anything for the journey. So I beg you, write father to give me from your money, then I will pay you

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far in his group-attitude, because this attitude is connected in his character with a stronger tendency to make his family rise than that found in an ordinary peasant. And his tyranny is particulary unbearable because he conceives the progress of the family's social standing in the strictly traditional peasant way and does not understand that in the new social and economic conditions in which his children have to live they need more independence than they would have needed forty years ago, in a closed and isolated farmers' community.

back as soon as I get to you. If you don't, I shall be obliged to borrow money from some stranger, but I must go. . . . . If things don't get more pressing I will wait for your letter, and if not, then I will borrow from anybody and go. So write to father either to give money to me, or to pay my debt. . . . . As to my marriage, I have now an opportunity, but because of all this I don't know myself what to do and probably I won't marry.[1] . . . .

STA[NISŁAW] MARKIEWICZ

178 May 4, 1908

DEAR WACIO: I inform you that you wounded my heart so much with the word which you wrote in that letter, that I did not know how to comfort myself [probably about his intention to stay in America]. I had never thought that you would write us such a sad word. So comfort us at least in your second letter. You ask us how we spent the carnival. Merrily enough, only we grieved for you. . . . . And now write us how the work is going on, and when will you come back. . . . .

Your loving sister,

E[LŻBIETA] M.

179 [November 4, 1909]

DEAR WACEK: We received your photograph and we are very glad. We thank you for it and we rejoice that you are in good health and look nice enough. And now you ask about the rose. It grows nicely; it blossomed twice during the summer. None of the fruit trees which you planted bore any fruit. You asked for a leaf of the rose; I send you it. The rose put out a wild branch. I don't know whether I shall cut it or leave it until you come; write me. As to the plum trees, remind me once more. . . . . I will have it done. The

[1] The boy's search for a wife lasts much beyond the usual time. It is not because he cannot find a suitable girl, but the girls' parents refuse him. The reason is perhaps less his personality than economic combinations. Stanisław, acting here in harmony with his father (or else he would complain about the latter) evidently asks too much dowry, while he cannot himself have a corresponding fortune. Even if his father gave him the farm, it would be impossible for him to pay the brothers' and sisters' parts without mortgaging the farm, unless he got an exceptionally large dowry. Therefore he would prefer to settle upon his future wife's farm. But in this case his personality begins to play a rôle. If a farmer agrees to give his farm to his son-in-law, he wants the latter to be strong, healthy, laborious, while Stanisław is the contrary of all these.

nut tree does not grow very well, while the cherry trees grow nicely. I thank you heartily for the 10 roubles. . . . . As to Stasiek, write him as [persuasively as] you can, not to leave off this party [girl] in Gostynno, because they are favorable to him, and he does not wish it much, but would like rather to go to you. So write him as you can and dissuade him from going. Only let him marry; I think it is time to finish it. I have time today and therefore I can write you, while when our mother wrote the last letter, I was with Pecia, and I was sad that I could not write a few words. As to Teosia, no bad news is to be heard here. She is sitting modestly after her travels. Grandmother is in good health. Write us whether the president has been elected. I am very sad in thinking that we cannot see one another for so long a time, but if you are longing in foreign countries, come soon to our country. . . . .

Your loving sister,

E[LŻBIETA] MARKIEWICZ

180 [Date undetermined]

DEAR WACIO: I received your letter for which I thank you heartily, I am healthy enough and I wish you the same. I am still a maiden and I feel very happy that I did not marry him [probably Topolski], for even his companions and my acquaintances approve me for not having married him. I thank you also heartily for these few words of good advice. I would beg you very much to write me who told you all this about him. Indeed I can say that he has a mean character; just on that account I did not marry him. In short, he was not for me and I did not marry him. And now I don't know; if I meet somebody according to my mind, I will get married, but if not, I can remain a maiden for some time still. I work as before, I have two girls [apprentices] and Zosia. We sew, we embroider, and so the time passes away. . . . .

ELŻBIETA MARKIEWICZ

181 March 26, 1913

DEAR WACIO: I beg you very much, if you think that it might be better for me, please send me a ship-ticket. Instead of both paying for your board, you would have me as housekeeper if I went there, and I could earn for myself during the free hours. So, please

[1] All planted by the brother; thence their interest for him.

write me what you think about me, because in May some of my acquaintances are to go from here to America, so I could go along with them. . . . .

ELŻBIETA M.

182 March 30, 1913

DEAR BROTHERS: I received your letters. . . . . I wrote you a letter and now I am writing this postcard. . . . . I beg you once more, send me a ship-ticket. We are selling the shop to Kiszkowski, so I have nothing more to do at home, to tell the truth. Why, I have spent here 25 years! I hope it is enough. If you don't send me the ticket, I will go for money. . . . .

ELŻBIETA MARKIEWICZ

183 [Exact date undetermined]

DEAR WACIO: You write us to lend money to Pecia. I tell you truly, as to my brother, that even if we gave her the whole farm and household, it would be not enough for her; even if we worked for her from dawn to night, it would not be enough, because it is a gulf for everything. We told her that you ordered us to lend her money, but that she had to give a note. She is so unreasonable that she got badly offended and said that she prefers to borrow from strangers. It is true that he [Franuś, her husband] is not sure at all [of living?] and in the case of his death you know what she would say. She has become now quite changed. Well, you have Staś there. Ask him. Although it is very bad when one [member of the family] writes against the other, I must do it. I don't write lies; you are my brother as much as she is my sister, but she is a woman without character. . . . .

Dear Stasio, I thank you also for having sent money for the overcoat of Alfons. It is true that money is necessary for more than one thing, while mother is so parsimonious. . . . . But she is so for the sake of us all. . . . .

Your loving sister,

ELŻBIETA

[Wishes and greetings.] And Franuś has got his salary raised by Mrs. J[aworska], but all this is not enough. When you throw anything upon this flowing water [of Pecia's expenses], it floats away at once.

[YOUR MOTHER]

184 January 14, 1914

DEAR BROTHER: [Letters and money received; letters sent; farm-work.] We have now grinding enough, because the windmill of Świecka burned down not long ago. We could have more, but you know how our father grinds, a grain in two parts, and now everybody has a smooth palate. . . . . We work as much as we can, and for this we have every day fresh "choleras" and "thunders" [swearing from the father], as you know. But what can be done? We must bear it, because it is impossible to shorten one's own life or to go a contrary way [*sic?*]. You ask how much money there is in all. [Enumerates the sums in bank, etc.] Maksym. Przanowski has not yet given the money back; he says that it was to be for [building] the church. Probably we shall be obliged to make a complaint [to the court]. Wincenty Przanowski hanged himself. Such is the whole nice species [Przanowski]. Władysława Markiewicz got married. Polcia was to marry that "*cham*" [Ham, the biblical person= ruffian], but it goes on lamely. As to me, I have nothing to write you. The whole road of my life is sown with thorns. . . . . The man [probably, type of man] whom I could marry and even, if necessary, eat my bread in the sweat of my brow, is not in a hurry to marry me, while the kind not worth looking at obtrudes himself on me. And my character is such that instead of marrying and suffering woe I prefer to remain a maiden further. During my whole life I have been the prey of bad fortune, and so my life is being spent.[1]

ELŻBIETA MARKIEWICZ

185 June 28, 1912

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . Elżbietka is to marry in the autumn, and I expect to do the same at carnival, for though I have still time, I am tired of working, for I have worked honestly. And now I beg you, dear Wacio, don't be angry, and send me money for a watch. . . . .

APOLONIA [POLCIA] MARKIEWICZ

[1] The difference between Elżbieta and Polcia (see the letters immediately following) is largely innate, but it must have been greatly increased by *instruction* and by the fact that Elżbieta had probably had better company by working outside of her home. The problem is important in a general way. To what extent is instruction alone able to produce class-distinction? And it may be noticed that in Poland it is more effective in this respect than elsewhere, incomparably more than in the United States. Independently of everything else, wherever instruction is appreciated at all, it creates a class-distinction as profound as birth, and more profound than money.

186 [No date]

DEAR WACIO: I thank you heartily for the postcard, for not having forgotten about me. You ask me whether I have a betrothed or not; yes, indeed, I have one and I had another. The one I wanted, they did not allow me, and the one I don't want, they order me to marry. But I won't marry anybody except a farmer from a village,[1] and now in fact I have 2 of them from Wincentowo. I don't know whether they will allow me to marry one of them, but if they don't allow me now to marry the one I intend to, I won't get married at all, but I intend to go to America in a year. . . . .

AFOLONIA MARKIEWICZ

187 April 14 [1914]

DEAR BROTHERS: For the first time I write also a few words to you. . . . . You write, Stasiek, about Elżbietka. So I beg you, forget about it. . . . . I joined the agricultural circle. Now they are arranging a trip to the province Kalisz, to visit the farms in the village Zachowo. This village is the first in all the kingdom of Poland, because not only the peasants there have good order in the fields and at home, but they have in the village even telephones, and electric light in houses and stables. So I want also to go and see it. Ten years ago it was a village of first-rate thieves. The journey will cost 10 roubles; the departure at the end of May. . . . .

[ALFONS MARKIEWICZ]

188 [December 2, 1912]

I think I never yet wrote to you, my Staś. Now before the solemnity of Christmas I will also write to you, for God alone knows whether we shall see each other any more. Do you remember what we spoke once between us when going to Gombin about the mill of Dobrzyków? O my God! I always keep this mill in mind, for it is like family property.[2] I thought that Maks would think about it, but

[1] This single phrase shows how perfectly and consciously Polcia is still a peasant girl and does not want to be anything else. Her mother wrote that it was she who kept the house. Evidently, she loves housework, farm-work, and country life and would not sacrifice these to any career which would bring her outside of the village. The type is frequent.

[2] *Ojcowizna*, land-property handed down from father to son; particularly if kept for some generations in the same family. Considered more valuable from

I cannot rely upon him. If you think about it, put money aside and send it here. We will put it in the savings-bank, and perhaps God will help us to buy it. There, near the church, it is a place the like of which cannot be found in the whole province. The new priest had the tavern abolished. Lis of Górki bought it from Kowalska for a joint-stock shop. They had set up the shop in the stone building of Plebanek, but now they will transfer it here, where the tavern was.[1] . . . .

[Your father],

J[AN] M[ARKIEWICZ]

DEAR BROTHER: I inform you that we are threshing. When we finish it I shall go to school, but there is no money. Now I inform you that Maciek J. has beaten Ziółek [the grandmother's husband]. It is not bad, but he must pay 30 roubles and sit 2 weeks in prison. . . . .

IGNACY MARKIEWICZ

189 April 20, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS MAKS AND STAŚ: [Letters written and received.] Then I describe to you the state of grandmother's health. After Christmas first the right arm and leg began to swell . . . . then the left arm and leg . . . . but grandmother still walks. She has grown so quarrelsome that it is awful. And Ziółkowski [her husband] abuses her from time to time: "Why does she groan?" Well, if he does not come to reason, and if his mouth gets looser we will shut it up.[2] (At present we live in friendship with him.) I don't know, my dear brothers, but this swelling of grandmother is probably nothing else than a sign of death. Ostrowski the carpenter swelled also before his death, and then he died after a little time. And Cichocki, the

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the moral point of view than property individually earned or acquired as dowry. Here the appreciation is particularly strong because some of the traditions of the patriarchal noble family are preserved.

[1] This letter characterizes the old man perfectly and is the only one he has ever written to his son.

[2] The grandmother married Ziółkowski at an age when she was no longer supposed to marry. He cannot be assimilated, and she is also estranged but still a member of the family. Properly she would retire and leave the management of her property to the family, but her marriage hinders this because Ziółkowski has no property himself, and cannot claim a support from his wife's children.

father of Tomasz, also swelled before his death. Do you know that Switkoszanka died 8 weeks after her marriage? . . . . Dear Maks . . . . you asked me to get the address of Jadzia Łączanka. Well, evidently I could not get it otherwise than by asking her good man of a father personally and he, of course, granted my request. Please, Maks, tell me about your school, whether you are learning in it already or when will you begin to learn. Nejman Felka's [husband] was in our house on Sunday after Easter. He praises the writing of your letters highly. He says that it is evident that you are improving yourself. It is something very different from what it was. Send us the form of a note, and the conditions on which you wish to send us those 1,000 roubles. . . . .

Your brother,

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

Maks, mother begs you, guard Staś against card-playing and revelry. . . . .

190 August 2, 1912

DEAR BROTHER MAKS: . . . . Pardon me, please, for not sending you your school-certificate for so long, for I see from your last postcard that you need it badly. I guess that you want it to show it in the school there, do you not? But I don't know, dear brother, how you will present it, because it is awfully dirty; it is disagreeable to take it into the hand. Don't think that is the way I took care of it. It was already in that state when I got it from that Russian hog.[1] [Relates in 3 pages how he invited a Russian post-official to go hunting, how he treated him and got him drunk, and how he hoped to get permission to keep a gun through this official's influence, because these permissions were very difficult to get.]

I am in a critical position this year. The orchard is bad, and so I cannot earn money. The reserve which I had from last year was exhausted on different purchases, such as clothes, shoes, etc. O my God! how unhappy I am that our father is so indifferent to us in matters of purchases, and particularly when he smells a rouble in your pocket then he won't buy anything, and in that way he draws from you the last grosz. . . . . Dear brothers Maks and Staś, I don't

[1] Either the teacher or some official, to whom Maks may have applied formerly for a position, leaving the school-certificate with him.

doubt that you love me sincerely, as my brothers, and that after receiving this letter you will send me [money] for a nice gun. Well, excuse me and don't be angry. It is only a joke. . . . .

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

191 [August 2, 1912]

DEAR STAŚ: I received the papers for which I thank you heartily. Further, to your continual questions about horses I answer that we have sold all the horses except my chestnut mare, and instead father bought one thoroughbred mare, of black color. Father is very well satisfied with this newly bought mare, and he intends to sell my chestnut mare also, because they do not fit together; the chestnut is much smaller and slower. Father received 200 roubles for 3 horses and paid 220 for one. The newly bought mare is $2\frac{1}{2}$ years old. Then I mention, dear Staś, that you sent 100 roubles to the address of our father and you believe probably that the matter is totally settled. Far from this, father has not yet given the money back to grandmother and does not even think of giving it. When I asked him, why he did not give the money to grandmother, he answered: "Your grandmother does not need it; has she not enough already?"[1] Well, what do you say to that? Even grandmother said once to me that it is strange you do not send the money back for so long a time. Probably grandmother guesses that it has been sent back but there is nobody to give it to her. And as to the money which Maks intends to send, it is very well that our father has to send the notes first. Excuse me, dear brother, for not writing carefully; my hand is still awfully tired from mowing barley with a scythe. I will finish it and lie down to sleep, because tomorrow the same work awaits me. . . . .

WIKTOR

[1] Staś has probably borrowed money from his grandmother for his journey to America, the father refusing to lend. The father's unwillingness to give the grandmother her money and his open acknowledgment that he wants to keep it makes his familial attitude still more evident. The same act would be dishonest if performed by any of his sons; it would be simply dishonest of Staś not to send this money back, because he would keep it for his *personal* use. But the father does not consider it dishonest; he does not want it personally for himself, but for the family-fortune. And the grandmother is still so much a member of the family that her interests could be subordinated to those of the family as a whole, while on the other hand she is, through her second marriage, half outside of the family and thus there is a greater temptation to divert a part of her money to familial purposes.

192 December 2, 1912

DEAR BROTHER STAŚ: [Thanks for money sent him.] Further, I inform you that grandmother['s affair] is already settled. She thanks you also most heartily and wishes you every good. [A page about the permission to keep a gun, which has not yet come.] Then, I inform you that mother complains about pains in her right arm, so that she cannot sleep. But don't grieve, perhaps God will grant her to recover slowly. . . . . Michał serves [in the army], as before. In his last letter he writes that he is trying to become an orderly [assigned to the personal service of an officer]. O stupid wretch! He wants to be appointed to keep a Moscovite's backsides clean! I did not answer anything to this.[1] Further, he writes that if he is not appointed an orderly, he will try to get into a hospital [as servant]. Well, you see, he does not try at all to return home [by being pronounced unfit]. My advice is lost. Cieślak's son came back 3 months ago. He says that they tormented him and tried to frighten him, but he did not change his behavior until they let him go. [Probably he pretended or exaggerated some illness.] You see, that is a man. [Marriages; weather, crops, farm-work; wishes for Christmas.]

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

I thank you for the poetry "At the Crossway" [probably copied from some book or paper], and I beg you for more like this one.

193 February 15, 1913

DEAR BROTHERS MAKS AND STAŚ: . . . . Three times I began to write letters to you, but I did not send you any of these letters, because I did not want to cause you pain by these letters, informing you about mother's illness, and at the same time about the slight sickness of our *dear little sister Weronika*, to which at the beginning we paid less attention. We waited for mother's health to improve, and God the Merciful granted to our mother better health, so I started to write you a letter. But alas! from the slight weakness of Ś.† P. ["*Świętej Pamięci*," "of sainted memory"] our *dear little sister*

[1] The conception that personal service is humiliating is never found among the Russian peasants (the position of orderly is much desired in the Russian army) and rarely found among the Polish manor-servants. Among the peasant farmers it is frequent and among the peasant nobility almost universal. The situation is evidently aggravated in this case because the man whom Michał would serve is a Russian.

Weronika, some . . . . stronger illness developed. We called Doctor Grzybowski. He said that inflammation of the lungs had developed, and that there was, alas, no hope of recovery. Nevertheless he did his best to give her health back to our dear sister Weronika, but all this was useless, for the deadly illness grew. On January 31, in the morning we asked the priest from Dobrzyków [to come] with our Lord Jesus. He prepared Ś.† P. Weronika, who was conscious, for death. The next day, on February 1, she lost her consciousness. O my dear God, how fortunate it was that the priest, with our Lord Jesus, came in time! From February 1, she raved in fever up to February 3. Then she recovered full consciousness, she ceased to groan, she wanted to rise from her bed, saying so: "Mother, I will get up, dress myself and walk a little, for I am so tired [of lying]." Oh my God, who can imagine our joy in seeing such an improvement in Weronika's health! But our joy did not last longer than until about 8 o'clock in the evening. Then she began to lose consciousness again. She called despairingly "Maks!" "Staś!" "Indiana Harbor" [where both brothers were], then again "Michałek!" and so she called every one of her relatives and acquaintances more than once. So, my dear brothers, we did not expect that before her death Weronika would want to see all of us.[1] About eleven in the evening she ceased to call us, only from time to time she asked for the medicine to drink which the doctor had prescribed. About 1 o'clock after midnight, on February 4, 1913, she ended her life as calmly as if someone extinguished a light, in the presence of us all. The body of Ś.† *P. our sister Weronika* was transferred to the church on February 5, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and buried on the same day, after the holy mass. I mention also, dear brothers, that at the funeral there was an extraordinary gathering of people. Then I ask you, did you receive the mourning letters, informing about Weronika's death? And I beg you very much, tell me, did you have any signs or forebodings? For we heard a terrible roar, but it was as long ago as June. I wrote you about it at that time. . . . .[2]

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

[1] The familial feeling is always manifested by the peasant at the moment of death. Death is no more a purely individual matter than marriage or birth. In this case we do not know the age of the child, and have a suspicion that the brother reported what should have happened and what would be agreeable to the feelings of the absent relatives.

[2] The expectation of signs foretelling death is a remnant of the old naturalistic religion. Cf. Introduction: "Religious and Magical Attitudes."

Dear Staś, I thank you for those few roubles which I received after Christmas, and I beg you, care for yourself, don't play cards, don't waste the money which you earn by work. I beg you heartily in God's name. I am in a terrible sorrow after our beloved Weronika. . . . .

YOUR MOTHER

194 April 8, 1913

DEAR BROTHER STAŚ: [Rumors of war; family has purchased American wheat drill; farming conditions.] You ask me, dear Staś, about this permission to keep a gun. First I mention to you, may cholera strangle the Moscovites with their laws and their whole shop. As you know, this cholera of a "stupajka" [nickname for a Russian functionary, from the Russian words, "*stupaï-ka*," "go at once," symbolizing the passive obedience of a subordinate] wrote bad information about me, that in 1905–6 I was interested in political questions. But they have no proofs at all. Opas is angry with us for not being a mayor, and he gave such an opinion of me to the constable, and the latter wrote it down. But I have proofs that it is not true. . . . . Now the whole affair is sent to the minister of the interior . . . . and then the senate will judge it. . . . . If not, we shall write a complaint to the emperor, and I will beg Maks to be so kind as to send it in my name from America.[1]

Grandmother groans, but walks. . . . . With Ziółek we live in good understanding. Ziółek's sister came to grandmother, to stay with her. Grandmother is angry, for up to the present she has been groaning alone, and now they will both groan. She is very brittle already, that Ziółek's sister.

I went to Gostynin on a business matter, and I got acquainted with the girls of Gostynin. They are nice and rich. If it doesn't end well with the Kowalczyks I will try to get the favor of one of them.

[WIKTOR]

[1] In order to get *any* governmental permission (to keep a gun as well as to get a passport, to open a business, to teach, to pass an examination, to go to any superior school, etc.) it is always indispensable in Russia to be politically "well-thinking and reliable," and to present a corresponding certificate based upon the opinion of the police and *gendarmerie*. The certificate may be refused even without stated reasons, on mere suspicion that the individual has ideas which are unfavorable to the "existing order of things," although he may never have acted against the government or even talked against it.

195 April 25 [1913]

Staś! We are very glad that you have such a lively interest in everything. [News about friends, farm-stock, crops, weather.] Frybra built a windmill, but he has nothing to grind. In our mill there is more to grind. Frybra is almost raging; he loafs around and invites the farmers.[1] Opas became a commune-assessor. . . . . Miąckowski is a good mayor up to the present. . . . . The parish of Dobrzyków got another priest, a young and active one. He dislikes liquor immensely, or rather drunkards; he hates them. So Mrs. Kowalska is glad that she has sold the tavern, and the new purchaser is tearing the hair from his head. The peasants keep far away from the tavern, and whoever draws nearer looks toward the church, and most often turns back, because evidently in his ears rings the powerful voice of the priest saying from the chancel: "If I see you—God forbid! —in the tavern, a great displeasure will befall you." And when a peasant passes by the tavern, he only turns and looks at it.

Michał is in Smolensk. I don't know whether he will get off [from the army], because the physician is evidently a scoundrel, and Michał does not know very well how to look out for himself. Well, but it pains him always just the same, and they cannot cure him. Perhaps they will let him go. May God help him! Michał regrets that he did not fly to America, but it is silly. [Because then he could never come back.] (Write your letters to Michał carefully, so as not to betray him, God forbid!) I think so, that if Michał perseveres they will let him go sooner or later. [Sends photograph; describes farm-work.] With Miss Kowalik, or rather with the Kowaliks, nothing is sure as yet, but now within a short time some result will follow. I will inform you at once. Miss Swat is now trying to be very pleasing. After Kowalik, I put Miss Swat in the first line. . . . .

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

196 May 24, 1913

DEAR BROTHER STAŚ: . . . . In your last letter you expressed the wish to send to my address 700 roubles which you earned and put aside. I am very glad that you economized such a nice bit of money, and as these American banks are not so secure as the communal savings-bank here, you had really better send it home, and I will give

[1] Inviting customers is considered worthy only of a Jew.

it to the communal bank. . . . .[1] I must add, that here in our country rumors are heard that American money is to be equaled with the Russian money [$1 is to be worth 1 rouble]. Well, if this happened more than one would lose the half of the money he has saved.[2] In view of all this I advise you, dear Staś, sincerely and truly, send your money home. I assure you on my conscience that I won't lose it and won't neglect it, i.e., I will put it into the bank. In case I needed it, I would give you a written evidence, for if I am successful with the Kowalczyks in Czyżew, this money will be a great help to me. It would be necessary to show at least 2,000 there, so if you sent your money, I would be that much bolder, because no stranger would know that it is borrowed money. I say at least 2,000. It would be well to show even more, for although they don't need money themselves, there are [competitors] who have 5,000 cash of their own.[3] I don't know, dear Staś, whether my efforts will bring me happiness or an irretrievable loss. Oh my great God! I implore you to help me. [News about orchards, crops, farm-work; marriages of friends.]

[WIKTOR]

197 [No date]

MY DEAR STAŚ: You ask me for my opinion about marriage, and you ask about Swatówna [daughter of Swat]. My brother, my Staś, I don't know what lot awaits me. About this Swatówna, as you

[1] The distrust in American banks is justified, as many bankers, most of them Jewish, operating among the Polish immigrants have proved dishonest, while the communal savings-bank is under the immediate control of the commune.

[2] Rumors of this kind come from various sources. Sometimes they may come from a misunderstood newspaper article; sometimes from the story of a returning emigrant who, not understanding the conditions abroad and having no standard for distinguishing the possible from the impossible, conceives and believes anything; sometimes the agents or Jewish merchants spread such news intentionally in order to profit by it. Often it is impossible even to guess their source.

[3] This shows that the question of dowry brought by the man or the girl is not exclusively economic. The girl Kowalczyk is rich enough to take a husband without money, or at least not to care for the amount of money which he may bring. And it would not be considered humiliating for a man without fortune to marry such a girl so far as he is *personally* concerned, because he would give his *work*. Nor would it be a humiliation for the girl to marry a man without money, provided he were her equal in education. But since in marriage the man is not an isolated individual but a member of a family, and since fortune has more importance for the social standing of the family than for the social standing of the individual, the man ought to have money, as it is a proof that he comes from a rich family.

know, I tried so hard to gain her favor; I took so many hard steps, and all this brought me nothing. I should have come out all right there, for as this Miss Swatówna told me, she "gave a basket" [the mitten] to Rudkowski because she loved me. But, finally, when I expected to end the business, then they [my family] began to find fault with it, particularly mother. Well, I gave up the game, I stopped calling on her. How they must talk about me there now! Swatówna is still a girl. I don't know what will be the end of the hopes with which I still deceive myself about the Kowalczyks in Czyżew. If God helped me, it would be the best there. All this is in the hands of God. But it is a hard nut to bite, for there is a crowd of various men around, and the Kowalczyks themselves look upon this business from several sides. I hear that they prefer me, but there was a time when things were so bad that I said to myself that I wouldn't go there again. I was there a few times and I never found her. Evidently she hid herself and she hid herself not because she hated [disliked] me, but because different [marriage] brokers laughed at her [for receiving attention from me].[1] Worse still, I noticed that the Kowalczyks began to treat me indifferently, particularly Mrs. K. This observation pained me greatly; but what could I do? I gave up my efforts, though I was sorry. But evidently Kowalczyk did not want to part with me in this way, for he understood my wishes, found some occasion and came to us with his brother Piotr.[2] He pretended to come for quite a different business, but we guess that he wanted also to look at our situation. Well, we tried to treat them as well as we could, and it seems that it pleased them well enough, and

[1] As the peasant is particularly susceptible to ridicule, this is often sufficient to hinder a marriage. A girl will hardly ever marry a man if she suspects that for any reason her choice may be ridiculed. The reasons are various. The most frequent is the inferiority of social position, as in Wiktor's case. The occupation is also very important. There are occupations which make a good marriage impossible for the man. Among these are catching stray dogs in the streets, sterilizing horses and cattle, serving in Jewish houses, and in general occupations having a connection with a Jewish business. (This last prejudice tends to disappear except in connection with personal service.) There are other occupations to which only a slight ridicule is attached, such as shoemaking, tailoring, peddling. Another source of ridicule is a physical defect, however slight. Similar prepossessions are found against girls, but the lack of variety in woman's occupations makes them less pronounced except as against servants in Jewish houses.

[2] It is a bad policy to dismiss an unacceptable suitor too hastily, for the more suitors a girl has the greater her value for each of them, and this influences the social standing of the family. Cf. Introduction: "Marriage."

when I meet them they treat me quite differently. Well, now I went also to them in the evening, on April 2, and called upon them as if passing by. They received me well enough, and Miss Mania with such a bashfulness came to the room where I was and we greeted each other very heartily. However, we spoke little together for her uncle was in a very good humor and tried to treat me well, and moreover it was rather late. So I have described to you briefly my whole passage. . . . . Now I mention that I met Bańkówna. She asked me about you, when you will come. I fibbed and said that you will come after Pentecost. She told me to greet you politely and begs you to write her a letter. If you want to, write, but fib cleverly. [News about marriages and deaths.]

About Jan Ziółek [probably the son of their grandmother's second husband] we don't know anything. He has not come yet. And perhaps he went farther inside of America with a whore. . . . .

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

198 August 24, 1913

MY DEAR BROTHER MAKS: . . . . In August 14, I was in Warsaw and I asked the editors of *Lud Polski* to send you a few copies of the paper. They sent it to the College in Cambridge Springs, Pa. You had asked for *Pan Tadeusz* of Mickiewicz: I bought you the whole collection of his poems. . . . . You wrote a letter to the Kowalczyks [in my favor]. Waste of time and paper. . . . .

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

199 POPŁACIERZ, April 13, 1914

DEAR BROTHER STAŚ: When I was in Grabie father got a letter just then from you in which you complain that you have no news from me. In my last letter I told about my wedding which was to be, and it was performed on February 18 at 12 o'clock, at noon.[1] A few days later . . . . I sent a letter to our dear brother Maks . . . . and I expected that you would meet him. . . . . Still, I don't consider myself excused, but I beg you, my dear brother, understand my situation, how many different indispensable affairs are to be settled, and

[1] He married neither of the girls mentioned before, but a new acquaintance, an orphan girl living at some distance. The girl's dowry is very large, as 30 morgs of land are worth at least 6,000 roubles.

they absorb all the time and cause trouble, until one comes to the steps of the altar and gets married. And do you believe that all this trouble and turning around and hurrying are over when one has performed the wedding-ceremony? Oh no, my dear brother, it was only a beginning of all this. Now I have whole series of these affairs and troubles before me. I won't mention to you my important affairs before the wedding, because I am sure that you imagine them; I describe only part of my actual troubles. On March 28, the family-council turned over to me the whole farm, and I received it in the communal court of Gombin. I received only 30 morgs of land with the winter grain sown, well, and 15 korcy of potatoes and a part of the barn filled with straw. Well, how is one to begin farming now, when he has nothing to take into his hand, neither cow nor horse, neither cart nor rope, nothing at all? The roofs upon the building, dear Staś, are so to speak, in a deplorable state; when rain comes, it rains in the courtyard and it rains in the barn, it rains in the stable and it rains in the cellar—it rains everywhere. The fences near the house are ruined, for there are none except near the house. Wherever you look and whatever you look at, you must repair. In short, it is as tenants usually leave it. And here even the smallest thing, whether for household or for cultivating the soil, must be bought. Is my father able to buy me everything, from A to Z, in spite of his sincerest wishes? Already my father has given me in all this more than once the proofs [of his good wishes], and I am and will be grateful to him up to my death.[1] My small savings were exhausted for my wedding, and only now I understand what it is to begin farming when you have nothing ready. . . . . So, please, don't be angry with me for not writing.

As to the wedding, I mention first, that the weather was splendid on this day. . . . . The ceremony was very nice, the church was beautifully adorned with green and lights; as many people came to look as on Sunday. In short, it was imposing. The priest from Radziwie demanded 25 roubles for the wedding, to be paid beforehand, but he did it splendidly, and I am very much satisfied. We did not

[1] The father's change of attitude toward the son is perfectly clear. The son's marriage is a familial matter, and thus there is no place for parsimony. The wedding must be splendid, because of the family's standing; the son must be helped in establishing himself upon his wife's farm, because it is to the family's interest that he should become a prosperous farmer. This investment of money is productive from the familial standpoint.

make a big feast; my father paid for the whole festival, because it was so agreed. [Enumerates the guests, "only the nearest friends and relatives," about 50 persons.] The guests were richly entertained and abundantly feasted, so the satisfaction was general. We did not collect for a caul. . . . .[1]

Now I describe to you, what I have already upon my farm. A harrow, a plow, a cart, everything new, one cow which my father gave me. Antosia's [the wife's] grandmother gave her one young cow big with calf, and 10 hens. My little old grandmother has given me nothing up to the present except one small cheese for the holidays and half a pint of butter. Well, may God reward little grandmother even for this.[2] But my father and mother help me the best they can and in whatever they can. Perhaps our Lord God will help me in the future also, then I will always remember this. Meanwhile I pray to Him for health and long life for them. I mention further that with the help of God we shall be able to live here pretty well. I have many plum and cherry slips, so it will be possible to enlarge the orchard, which is one of the sources of the welfare of a farmer. . . . . My father and mother are very much satisfied with their daughter-in-law and with all this marriage in general. . . . .

I come to the end of this letter as speedily as I can, because as soon as I put the pen aside I must prepare myself to catch the steamer in order to go to Grabie, to my dear parents, to look once more at the old corners. . . . .

WIKTOR M.

200 GRABIE POLSKIE, July 5 [1914]

MY VERY DEAR STASIECZEK [STAŚ]: . . . . I came today to our parents for business, and on this occasion I write to you. . . . . They complain here at home that it is hard for them to provide for all the work, and there is nobody to help them. We learn that you also have to work very hard there, and that moreover you have lost your health. They ask you therefore to come back. Evidently, if you are getting on badly, come at once; if well, remain still for some time.

[1] Old habit of collecting money among the guests for the bride's dresses. Cf. Introduction: "Marriage."

[2] The grandmother, by her second marriage, has lost the familial feeling and feels no obligation to help Wiktor.

We are about to have a terrible lawsuit with the priest of Dobrzyków and those Hams [ruffians] beyond the range. Oh, thieves, thieves! Those Hams and the priest and the judge are going hand in hand. My brother, what things are going on here!

Your brother,

WIKTOR MARKIEWICZ

201 SOUTH CHICAGO, August 7, 1906

DEAR BROTHER WACŁAW [really cousin]: Fortune arranged it so that unexpectedly we both became pilgrims in America. So I feel my brotherly attachment to you, and that it is so, let it be proved by my letter addressed to you, whose address I got from home.[1] I dare say that perhaps you care less to establish a regular correspondence with me here in America, but it is only a supposition. How it is in reality the future will show.

So I inform you that I came to America, i.e., to New York, on February 13, and then I went to my friends in New Kensington. . . . . There I worked up to May 26. I worked in a glass factory 8 hours a day. The work was not heavy, but hot. I earned $12.50 to $14.00 a week; it depended on how much glass was made.

I left because the factory closed. . . . . I went to Chicago. There I found my acquaintances and my cousin Leonard Król, my mother's uncle's son, with whom I am living up to the present. Since I came to South Chicago, I am working with Polish carpenters 8 hours a day. I am paid 35 c. an hour. And naturally, while it is summer, I am very busy with this work, but in winter it will surely stop. Then I hope to get into a factory . . . . or carshop for the same work. On the 2d of this month I received a letter from home, favorable enough, and at the same time your address. So I want to learn about you, what you are doing, where and with whom you live. And in general inform me about your success. Whatever you ask me, I will gladly inform you about. . . . . I send you hearty wishes of happiness, health and good success, I embrace you and kiss you.

Your brother,

MAKSYMILIAN [MAKS MARKIEWICZ]

[1] Typical, disinterested revival of family feelings. It is not the mere result of loneliness, for Maks lives with another cousin.

202 March 27, 1907

DEAR BROTHER: Your letter satisfied me very much, for you have good work. I remember the letter which you wrote to me last summer; I pitied you then, when you described how you worked in a glass factory for $1.50 a day. My hearty advice to you would be to hold steadily to carpenter's work, particularly in carshops, for though they pay better in other works, it is not so steady as in a carshop. Moreover, if you know how to work about cars you can find this work in the whole of America. I intend also in the future to get into a passenger carshop, for not far from me there is a big carshop in which thousands of carpenters are working. It is, I have heard, the main carshop for whole America, called "Pullman." From there come the most splendid cars for all lines. Look carefully, then you will surely see these cars with the inscription, "Pullman."

When Stasio comes, if there is nothing favorable for him where you are, let him come to me, then I will help him as much as I can. But you know that a man who comes fresh from our country can with difficulty, find good work, for he is not acquainted with the American habits and does not understand the language. Therefore I warn you, let Stasio not be very capricious in the beginning. I wish [advise] him also to try carpenter's work. . . . .[1]

MAKSYMILIAN

[1] The problem of work, predominant in this letter and important in all the letters of American Poles plays no such rôle in the life of the Polish peasant-farmer. With him work, that is work for others, is only an additional means of existence, and property is his main interest. There is in the old country no hope of advance through work. It is undertaken only as a means of supplementing an otherwise impossible existence, and is miserably paid. In this respect American emigration, with its many possibilities and its relatively vast range of good and bad chances, effects a profound revolution in the psychology of the peasant, and the problem of work becomes at once the central problem. Interests of the city-workman are added to those of the peasant, without supplanting them, and the result is that the workman of peasant origin differs from the hereditary city-workman in two respects: (1) He has no interest in the work itself but considers it exclusively with regard to the wage; (2) he looks upon his labor, not as a means of organizing his life once and forever, but as upon a provisional state, a means of attaining property, which is for him the only possible basis of a steady life-organization. The good job, particularly in America, is for the peasant nothing but a good chance from which he must get as much as possible, while for a man with a workman's psychology and with the same tendency to rise, the good job will be either an end in itself or a means of getting a still better job. From this results also the apparent stinginess and low standard of life with which the American workman reproaches the Polish immigrant.

203 September 5, 1907

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I see that you did not receive my last letter . . . . and you probably think that I have forgotten you. But in this respect you are mistaken, dear brother, for I don't intend ever to forget anybody, and particularly you. As to your supposition that some woman turned my head, you almost guessed it. But I know also how to turn women's heads. Only I keep always in mind the severe American laws in this regard.[1] [Was slightly hurt in his left hand; expects to get insurance money.]

MAKSYMILIAN

204 INDIANA HARBOR, April 30, 1908

DEAR BROTHER WACŁAW: . . . . I inform you that I moved from South Chicago to Indiana Harbor, nearer my work, so that now

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The man with a workman's psychology, considering hired work as his more or less permanent condition, will try to live as comfortably and pleasantly as his means permits, for this life is normal for him. The man with the peasant psychology, considering hired work as a temporary chance, will reduce his actual needs to a minimum, postponing every pleasure of life until the end of his work, for this life is for him provisional and abnormal.

The letters of Maks give us a good example of the evolution of this attitude. In the beginning Maks is an instructed peasant, economizing, putting money aside, thinking of returning and probably of acquiring some property at home. Then he hesitates, and is half-decided not to return; he is not yet decided to remain a workman, but he already makes expenses which only a workman, never a peasant, would make, such as buying a watch for $60. He nevertheless still thinks of property and writes about buying a house. And finally, he does something which is absolutely contrary to peasant psychology; he decides to spend all his money on instruction, and goes to a college. This proves, that no longer property, but hired work has become his life-business, and that his peasant attitude in economic matters has changed into a typical workman's attitude. Cf. Introduction: "Economic Life."

[1] The attitude of Maks toward the problem of love is already to some extent that of the middle class. In the peasant class love is always related to marriage, even if there is much flirting before making the definite choice; in the middle class it becomes an end in itself, a kind of a sport, of which marriage in each given case may be the result, but is not necessarily the acknowledged aim. Of course, as sexual intercourse between unmarried people is normally excluded in the middle class, there must be a sufficient degree of culture in order to make the relation interesting in spite of this limitation and in spite of the lack of an immediate reference to marriage, and it is also usually possible only when the individual is no longer dependent upon the family. Cf. Introduction: "Marriage."

I can go on foot to the factory and I don't need to pay 15 c. a day for the railway-passage.[1]

I was much pleased with your intention to learn English, and even higher [subjects], for if you have some instruction, you will have an assured existence in this country. I guess that you regret that you did not come to America a few years sooner [before his military service], and did not learn English instead of learning Russian [in the army], you could say today boldly that your existence is secure.[2]

I got a letter also from our country, from father, mother, and brother Wiktor. When Wiktor was still in Petersburg I wrote him that I intended to marry in America, and that I would therefore never come back to our country. I asked him to repeat to my parents my decision wholly [as I wrote it], but, instead of sending it by letter, he told it himself to my parents when he came back home. This is what he wrote me, that he was able to notice: My mother was very much troubled about it and began to cry, longing for me, while my father cared about it very little, and Wiktor noticed that father cared little about it. Then, my mother begs me much, in her first letter to me, to remove these thoughts from my head, to come back to our country, while my father does not mention a word about my returning home, only informs me with joy, that Wiktor came back healthy from the army. And when Wiktor was to draw the lot, my father, as I heard, exerted himself [to get him free], and even gave to some official 200 roubles to this effect, so that if the commission in Gostynin exempted Wiktor from the military service, it would cost my father 200 roubles, but if not, then the official would pay the money back. Well, the commission did not exempt him, and my father got the money back. Therefore he writes me now [when Wiktor, because of bad health, has been sent back from the army], that Wiktor is there and the money is there. From [in spite of] his joy, as my brother writes me, father would not even buy him clothes for Easter. In a word, dear brother, I don't see in my father any heart for me, now no more than formerly.[3] At the same time I got a letter from my

[1] He had lived for a year as described in order to be with a remote cousin.

[2] We find here already a standpoint very different from that of the peasant tradition. The question of "existence" is put upon a purely individual basis. But this standpoint is not yet definitely accepted, as the following paragraph shows.

[3] Maks evidently had his father sounded with reference to determining what were his chances of receiving the farm or of being established on another if he returned, and the uncordial attitude of his father perhaps had an effect in determining the individualistic sentiments in the earlier part of the letter.

mother, written with her own hand. She weeps for me and she asks me with tears to come back to our country. My heart grieves at the words of my beloved mother, and I am ready to satisfy her wish in the future.

As to the question how I look upon religion and socialism, dear brother, I don't bother myself profoundly with either the first or the second. Not with the former, because I know this much, that I am a Catholic, and I perform the duties of a Catholic as far as I can. I am not devout, for I have no time to pray, because every Sunday I must work, and—I confess it to you alone—I worked even on Easter from 7 until 2. . . . . But nevertheless I desire to remain a Catholic up to my death.

As to politics, I am very little interested in any questions or parties; when I have a little time, I buy a paper for 1 c., I read it, and there it all ends. . . . .[1]

M. MARKIEWICZ

205 September 22, 1908

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . After waiting for 6 months I received at last a letter from my father, with rather favorable news. . . . . They are succeeding pretty well, for my father intends to buy in Dobrzyków the "murowanka" [farm with stone buildings] from Mr. Plebanek for 3,300 roubles, but he has not this whole sum, so he addressed himself to me for some help. I did not refuse him help in this affair, but it seems to me now that perhaps I acted impolitely. I asked my father to send me first notes for 1,000 roubles or more, and promised to send money at once after receiving these. (Tell me your opinion about this question of notes and sending money in general.) I add that if I asked for notes it was because my confidence in my father has been ruined during my stay in America. If you wish, I can tell you about it. . . . .

M. MARKIEWICZ

[1] In comparison with Maks, Wacław remains more of a peasant, in spite of his socialism. Instruction is not for him a means of getting a position on a higher social level. He is enough above the peasant to appreciate instruction in itself independently of its immediate practical application, but not enough to make of it a new basis of life. Economically he is satisfied to belong to the lower class, and wants to rise only socially, like Elżbieta, his sister. Maks, on the contrary, is not interested in instruction and theoretical problems as a matter of distinction, but he gets further from the peasant ideology than Wacław, and is able to make instruction a new life-basis which will allow him to get totally outside of the peasant class economically as well as socially. Wacław expresses his desire to do the same as Maks, but it does not seem that he fulfilled it.

206 December 14, 1908

DEAR BROTHER: I am very much grieved that you are in so bad a position. I can well imagine your painful situation, and I should be glad to help you, dear brother, and at the same time I would reach the object of my wishes to live together, or near each other in this foreign land. But now it is simply impossible. In the factory where I am working very few men have good work—only the engineers and we three carpenters. As to the ordinary workers in the mill, may God pity them, so bad is their work. . . . . I would not wish it, not only not to my brother, but not even to the Russian [tsar] Nicholas to get it by my protection [assistance]. Perhaps in the future you will have occasion to see it yourself; then you will agree with me that I was right. . . . . As to the carshops, they are not here, but near Chicago, but I hear that even they don't work with full speed, as the papers have drummed it after the election of Taft. If you want money, write to me and I will send you some. . . . .[1] With me everything is good. I am healthy, I work steadily, only I am bored here, because in this small town I am as solitary as in a forest. . . . . Write me what do you think about the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Sokols. . . . .

M. MARKIEWICZ

207 August 16, 1909

DEAR BROTHER WACŁAW: . . . . I received a good letter from my parents, and besides the letter I received beautiful gifts from my parents, brought by Witkowski's brother—a gold watch chain, my monogram sewed with gold and silver threads and six fine handkerchiefs, marked. I am very much pleased with these tokens, and from joy I bought a gold watch for $60.00.[2] I won't write you more, for I intend . . . . to come to you next Sunday. . . . .

MAKSYMILIAN

208 October 5, 1909

DEAR BROTHER WACŁAW: , . . . I inform you about an offer from which you will perhaps profit. My old boss told me today that he had much work, so perhaps I knew some carpenters, and if so I

[1] He kept this promise, but without taking money from the bank.

[2] Cf. No. 202, note.

should send them to him. I told him that I had a brother carpenter (i.e., you) who was working, but if the work would be steady, I could bring him. He answered that he hoped to have steady work. So I advise you to come, dear brother . . . . we would live here in the foreign land together. . . . . We could meet him in South Chicago and speak about the business while drinking a glass of beer. . . . .

MAKS

209 ISLAND CITY, November 18, 1911

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I am glad to hear that you want to send me your money for keeping. I see that you smother [hoard] it well. So send it and don't ask whether I will accept it. Describe how long the work there can last, what are you building, and how do you live there. I think there are probably colds and snows. . . . . Take care not to catch cold and not to journey thence [into the other world]. Write more about yourself and the country. Are you satisfied with your success? With me there is no news. . . . .

M.

Finally, I shall inform you that I learned something which you supposed I would never learn. You were mistaken. Well, and because of this I have lost in you something forever. First, I confided you this [secret], as to a brother. Then, when I noticed that I had done badly [imprudently] I begged you [not to repeat it, saying] that if it comes through you to the daylight, I should have to pay with my good name. And so it is. But you did not care about anything, and you betrayed me. Be your own judge. I owe it also to the good memory which you have, for you repeated everything very exactly.

MAKS

210 December 1, 1911

DEAR BROTHER WACŁAW: We received today a letter for you from our country and I send it to you. Excuse me please for its being opened, but you know how everybody is curious when anything comes from our country, so we [Stasiek and I] tore the envelope and satisfied our curiosity. Your parents write about a whole series of accidents which they had lately. The most important is the news about that horse. It is a pity to lose such big money as he was worth. Stasiek says that it was a nice horse. We received also a letter from home,

but there everything is well. First, everybody is in good health, and my father bought 5 morgs of land from our neighbor Switek, near ours, for 1,100 roubles. Further, my brother Wiktor intends to marry during the carnival a Miss Kowalik from Czyżewice. Stasiek says that it would be a splendid business. The girl is young, educated well enough, the only daughter, and her parents have a farm worth about 15,000 roubles. Wiktor hopes that he will reach his goal there, because those people are even some remote relatives of my grandmother Ziółkowska, and this means something too. Further, Wiktor asked me to send him about 1,000 roubles, for our father has spent most of his money on that land which he bought. Probably I ought to help him for some time. What do you think?

Now, you wished so well to Miss H. G.; but I learned that, as it turns out, she seeks herself the same [danger] against which you warned her.[1] A proof is the fact, that not long ago she wrote a letter, such a fawning one, to that "priest" [seminarist], and asked him to accompany her [to walk with her] again. So if she knows everything, how she was betrayed, and dared to address herself to him with such an oration [*sic*], it is enough to give us an idea of her virtue. But he gave her, I heard, a rather sharp answer, owing to the occupation which she had, that is, she works in a larger sort of a shoemaker shop, just opposite the St. Stanislaus College. She sews buttons on the shoes, puts laces in, and so on. With a lady who has such a position he won't have anything to do—so this student answered her. Enough for the present about this Miss H. G. At the first opportunity we can speak more. . . . . I have somewhat important business to speak about, concerning the purchase of a certain house here in Indiana Harbor. . . . .[2]

Your brothers forever,

M[aks] and S[tanisław] Markiewicz

211 Valparaiso, August 21, 1912

Dear Wacław: . . . . I shall be in Chicago probably on the 31st of this month. I must make a few purchases before going to Cambridge Springs, Pa. Among many others, I must buy Webster's Dictionary, which costs $18.00 edited in 1912. An older edition can

[1] Refers probably to the content of his preceding letter. Wacław probably warned the girl against Maks and told her of some previous love story of his cousin.

[2] A recrudescence of the peasant property interest.

be bought for $12.00. It is an indispensable thing in the school. As to my leaving the school of Valparaiso, it is not an unexpected occurrence, for I planned beforehand to do it. As to the English language, I shall have time enough to learn it in 5 years, and in the school of the Polish National Alliance a year can be spent for $150 while here in Valparaiso it would cost me $300; so it is worth doing, if only for this reason. . . . . Before I come, be so kind and try to learn from somebody about second-hand bookstores, so we can both go and buy this book. . . . .

MAKS

212 SMOLENSK, January 9, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: "Praised be Jesus Christus!" My pen wrote, and my heart wept that it did not see you for so long a time. [In verse.] Now I send you the sad news that I have been taken to this accursed army. [Describes how he was sent with other recruits to Smolensk.] The physician sent me to the hospital where I am lying the third week already and I don't know how long I shall lie and what will happen to me further. God knows it. In the hospital they give bad food, or rather not so bad as little, but for the work which we have it is enough. There are 23 of us here with ear disease. There are 10 Poles, but they are all from the province of Lublin; I am alone from the province of Warsaw. I am not bored, for I have a good companion who was for a whole year in the agricultural school at Pszczelin. He tells me about this school, and time passes. We have a good physician in the hospital, but only few men are let go, so I don't know what they will do with me. Perhaps only a miracle of God will tear me away from this jaw. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

213 May 26, 1912

. . . . DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I am waiting now for a letter from you, because I received six roubles, sent by you, for which I thank you heartily. They will be very useful for different expenses, for up to the present I had not even money for buying tobacco, because I have not received anything sent from home. And here in Smolensk everything is expensive, average boot-soles cost 3 złoty . . . . a loaf of wheat bread, which in our country can be bought for 3 copecks, here costs 5 copecks.

I never expected that such a bad lot would befall me, as it proves now, for if I had known that I should serve,[1] I should never have come here, to this muddy and dirty Smolensk. I should have done much better if I had gone to America instead of you, dear brother Stanisław. They plague us, God forbid! We hoped that after the oath [of fidelity] they wouldn't plague us so much, but it is still worse. Till noon they make us run [exercise] near the barracks. Afternoon they send us to work. . . . . They expect the tsar to come to Smolensk this year, and they plague us the more for it. I write home that I am getting on not badly, but if mother knew what conditions I have here, she would shed many tears.[2] I shall probably expiate for you and for myself.[3] I am walking like a dead man, for it is so painful to serve. You have extricated yourself, but I shall hardly succeed. I go often to the medical office, but what is the result? We have a physician who is simply a thief, an old dog. Whenever I go to him, he seals my ear and writes something. . . . . He says that I am spoiling my ear myself. He says that he is writing a report and that he is sending me to the court-martial, but there is nothing to this court. He only tries to frighten me, or the devils know what he thinks. . . . . He did not do anything bad to me up to the present, except that he won't send me to the hospital. I beg our Lord God and God's Mother for it, because, although in the hospital they gave little to eat, yet it was possible to sleep and to rest enough. I often see all the men with whom I lay in the hospital. . . . . Only one, from the province of Lublin, has been set quite free. . . . . Another, about whom I know . . . . whose hair fell out and whose head was left as bald as your knee, or as the head of Korzuszek, was not set entirely free, but only sent home for 6 months to recover. [Describes

[1] He expected either to draw a high number which would exempt him or to be sent home by the recruiting commission on account of his artificially provoked ear trouble.

[2] This regard for the mother is typical. It seems somewhat a custom not to complain to one's parents about the military service. Cf. No. 218; also No. 72, and other series containing soldiers' letters.

[3] Stanisław, like Wiktor, was set free on account of sickness, after having served a short time. Therefore he did not need to go to America in order to avoid military service, and for this reason Michał regrets that he did not go himself instead of his brother. "Expiate" means here "suffer the predestined amount of misery."

weather, exercise and work.] O, God's Mother, deliver me from this Moscovite jaw! . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

Please don't write home about my "luxurious" life in the army, for mother will grieve.

214 July 14, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . As to my illness, I don't go to the medical office now, but I await the winter and the cold. It is true that I am afraid of these dogs the physicians lest they send me to the court-martial, because he decided at once that I had done it intentionally. . . . . Whenever I went there, he always told me not to irritate it, and always put gauze and cotton inside. If he put it loosely, it leaked, but if he put it tightly, so that I was not able to ———, then it did not leak. Now I am waiting for the cold; I will complain of the cold [as irritating my ear] and go often to the medical office. If the physician knew with certainty that it is spoiled [intentionally], he would have sent me to the court-martial, and long ago, because he is a bit of a dog's brother. Now I won't write you more about it . . . . but when you answer, brother Stanisław, do it carefully, that you may not betray me. During June we looked here at the flying of beautiful aeroplanes. . . . . It was like a bird with wings, and when it rose, it twanged like a threshing machine. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

215 August 19, 1912

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I inform you about my military service, that it is going on slowly, day after day, further and further. We have ended already our duties in the summer camps, amid heat which reached 40° [Reaumur or Centigrade], ... and now the weather has changed; it is cold and it rains every day. They plagued us in the camp, it is true, but it will be still worse, because we are to go to Moscow in a few days for maneuvers which will last for 2 weeks, and then for a week there will be military review by the tsar. It will be hard if it rains then, dear brother. God forbid! To get into this accursed army and to serve—what for? To waste in vain your health and youth! Dear brother Stanisław, I am so weary and homesick, God forbid! Whenever I remember anything, my heart almost

bursts open with grief. Why did I not go instead of you to America? I regret it always, but it is too late. Well, even now I don't lose hope in God. Perhaps our Lord God will grant to me such time and desirable moment, as we both desire, you and I. Meanwhile, I don't go to the medical office, but I plan to get sick during the maneuvers, when we are in Moscow. There perhaps they will leave me in the same hospital where you were, for, as people say . . . . there it is easier to be set quite free. Here in Smolensk it is very difficult; they let only the men go who have been operated, or those who are dying, and even those are not set totally free, but only for some time, until they recover. . . . .

When I had written up to this passage, I was told that I shall be left here . . . . because they consider me unhealthy. . . . . But although I remain here, I shall still have a bad time. Every day I shall be obliged to keep guard at the post. But it will be better than at the maneuvers. It is bad in the army, nothing good ever happens. Dear brothers, you ask me whether I need money. I need it really, because if I wanted to satisfy all my needs I ought to have 10 roubles a month; only then could I be a little free. But when I got those few roubles, they were spent I don't know where. I don't demand of you to send me as much as I ought to have, for you must work for it. You don't receive anything for nothing, but it is easier for you to get a rouble there than for me a copeck here, so be so kind and send me a few roubles. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

216 January 26, 1913

DEAR BROTHER STANISŁAW: . . . . I inform you that I received the money, 9 roubles 72 copecks, long ago, in October, and I thank you very much for so large a help in the military service. . . . . I wrote you then a letter at once. . . . . I had also a letter from home yesterday in which they inform me that everything is good except that our sister Weronika is sick. They write also that a Russo-Austrian war is likely to come. Indeed, people speak much about war, and just because of this they held up the soldiers from the [19]10 year, who ought to have gone on November 1; they don't let them go now. . . . . If the war with Austria began—God forbid! It would be upon our Polish land. It would be dangerous to live in our country. As to me, it would be also bad, because who knows

whether I should not be obliged to go to the war. . . . . Up to the present there is nothing terrible, only we hear that Austria held the reserves, as if she were preparing for war, and here the reserves are also held. The whole question is about the Black Sea. But everybody says that there won't be war. . . . . God forbid! If I had to go to the war, dear brother Stanisław, who knows what would happen with us, perhaps we should never see one another again. I regret very much that I did not go to America; there I could live and earn, as you do, dear brother. Well, I beg your pardon, Staś, for writing so. Don't think that I envy you; on the contrary, may our Lord God help you. But I am so worried, and I think that I should have done better in going to America. . . . . They won't let me go. I don't go now to the medical office, because it [ear] won't leak much, but I will go once more. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

217 March 16, 1913

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . No news is to be heard. I live as in a forest; among this savage Moscovite horde nothing can be learned. [Rumors about the war.] I got a letter also from home, such a one as I saw for the first time in my life, such a terrible mourning letter.[1] I had not even read it and I did not know what had happened at home, and the first look made me terribly afraid, down to the bottom of my soul . . . . . God guard us from more such letters! They wrote me in their last letter that our grandmother is also ill, that her legs are swelling. They wrote that they are overwhelmed with sorrow after the death of our dear sister Weronika. And of the farming they wrote that everything succeeds well, and the grinding is average. . . . . Dear brother Stanisław, you ask me whether our parents are angry with you, that they don't write to you. . . . . God forbid! They never wrote to me anything like that, only the letters don't reach you. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

218 April 8, 1913

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I received the money, 6 roubles, for which I thank you heartily. I know, dear brother, that you feel the need which I suffer in the military service, for you know yourself what goodness is in this accursed army. They don't send me money from

[1] The letter was a printed death-notice, seldom used among the peasants.

home, because I write them such letters that they may not grieve about me. I write them that I don't feel ill in the army, and they believe that I feel really better in the army than at home. As I don't write for money home they don't guess themselves [my need] and they don't send me any, for they don't know well how it is in the military service.

May God keep even my worst enemy from such a goodness, may not a dog ever serve in the army! [Sends his photograph and asks for photographs.] Now I inform you that the recruits of 1910 have been set free and went away on March 26; even we were more cheerful. . . . . If only time passed more rapidly! . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

219 May 20, 1913

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . We celebrated here the Easter holidays together with the Russians, i.e., on April 27. Here all the holidays, even for free people [civilians], go together with the Russian.[1] We were at the "Resurrection" in the church during the night from Saturday to Sunday. It was celebrated very beautifully. They let off fireworks, shot as if with guns; for the first time in my life I saw such queer fireworks. The holidays have not been bad, as good as they can be in the army. They gave a little of everything, and of beer everybody drank as much as he wanted. And now for 4 days we have been going to Easter confession. It is not very far to the church from here, as far, for example, as from our house to Dobrzyków. The church is not very big, but nice, built of bricks. It has stood only 19 years. I have had no letter from home for a long time. I don't know what is the news at home. A farmer from near Warsaw writes to his son in the army that it is not very well in our country; there was a big frost so that all the oats and barley have frozen. . . . . As to myself, everything is going on slowly. . . . . In these days we are camping. When this summer has passed, less than a half [of the time] will be left. There are rumors that service will be reduced 2 months to the recruits of 1911 and to us, because they kept those of 1910 four months overtime and they will want to get these expenses back. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

[1] The Catholics in Russia outside of the limits of the so-called "Congress Kingdom of Poland," keep the dates of the old or Julianic calendar, which is official in Russia.

220 June 24, 1913

DEAR BROTHER STANISŁAW: . . . . My service is going on slowly. We went into camp on May 20 . . . . but God forbid to live in these camps! Every day some task, some hard task. It is true that we don't work here, but these tasks [drill] are more annoying than any work. I am worried, I have no wish to do anything, all this because every day it is the same. And if somebody looked from outside it would seem as if it were not so bad in the army. Well, you, dear brother Stanisław, I see that you feel my need the best, for you are the best persuaded how well it is in this accursed Moscovite army. Thanks to God the Highest, dear brother, you did not serve these Moscovites long, while I shall surely be obliged to remain for all these 3 years, unless God's mercy comes. Happy the man who does not serve! More than once have I been convinced of this. Well, what can be done, if such is the will of God that I must serve. Happily one-half of my service has passed; perhaps our Lord God will grant that the other will pass also. This year, if our Lord God keeps me alive, I shall go home on leave, and thus slowly things arrange themselves. . . . . I am glad that you are satisfied with my photograph. The man who is with me in this photograph is my best companion, a Pole from near Warsaw, but he goes to the reserves, i.e., home, in autumn. Send me the soonest possible your photograph and that of Maks. If it is possible, please send me a silver watch and a good razor. But perhaps this will cost much there; if so, don't send. It would be very agreeable to receive such a gift from one's brothers; I should have a remembrance for my whole life. I beg your pardon for daring to write for such things to you. I say only, dear brothers, if it is not expensive and if you think that it is possible, send it. . . . . Brother Wiktor did not write me that he intends to marry in Czyżew, but I know it, for already when I was at home Wiktor drank more than once with her parents and went to them sometimes with his chestnut mare. Indeed it would be a happiness if he could marry there. You can send money [home], for our parents spent their own upon land, and in such a business [as this marriage] money is useful. Write how much you can send him. Did brother Wiktor not write you whether there is anybody to be paid off, and why they need money? . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

221 September 26, 1913

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I received the money from you, 10 roubles 1 copeck; just before the maneuvers it was paid to me, and it was very useful during the maneuvers. I thank you heartily, and particularly you, dear brother Stanisław. If it were not for your help I should have suffered much want and misery, while so, thanks to God, the second maneuvers passed neither good nor bad. Thanks to God, there was no rain and no cold. . . . . But, as soldiers say, last year it was terrible; it rained the whole time, and nothing is worse than to be wet during such a wandering. We have wandered like Jews in the desert, all this in memory of the Napoleonic War, and through the same ways as the French in 1812–13. We passed many different villages, and nowhere I have seen any good house or barn, only everything like henhouses. It is easy to notice that these "Kacapy" [nickname for Russians] farm exceedingly badly. What is worse, they have no draw-wells, only the women go for water far away, to some ditch or pit. And they sow whole fields with flax, as in our country with rye, for example.[1] I won't write more about these "Kacapy," I only say that nowhere is it so well as in our country, in the beloved Poland. . . . .

MICHAŁ

As to the watch and razor, you were right in not sending them [probably because of the tax].

222 November 22, 1913

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . I received a letter from home, in which they inform me that our father received the money sent by you, precisely that about which you wrote me in your last letter, the 1,000 roubles, and moreover mother received 10 roubles. Father deposited your money in the savings bank of Gombin. Wiktor evidently could not conclude the business in Czyżew, for he wrote that now he is calling upon the Jankowskis in Kielniki, and had even asked already the favor of their daughter. They invited him to call upon her. Very well, but they put off the question of marriage, I don't know why —whether they want to get their sons married first or for some other reason. . . . . They [at home] wrote also that this plague of a Ziółek [second husband of their grandmother] nags our house [family]. For

[1] Cf. Osiński series, No. 131, note.

example, Chojnacki's boy tends his cattle [to graze] and once he pastured them near our windmill. A cow, precisely that of Chojnacki, damaged a wing of the windmill, and brother Ignac beat the boy for it. This "berry" ["peach"] of a Ziółek persuaded Chojnacki to make a complaint against Ignac. The court condemned the latter to 2 weeks of prison, but father appealed, and we don't know what will result. Father in turn lodged a complaint against Chojnacki for damaging the wing. . . . . How do you like our dear grandfather? May—[the devil take] him—! Our brother Wiktor wrote that he slanders and blackens our house before people, and Wiktor intends to reward him for his bad muzzle.

They write to me to come on leave, particularly our dear mother. I have certainly promised to go, but the leave does not depend upon me alone. . . . . I asked the captain here and he promised to let me go, but whether he will or not, I don't know, although I have the full right. . . . . May God grant me to get, for a few days at least, out of this true hell upon earth, this Moscovite's jaw, because I am very worried and longing for my family. And what is worse, they say that the service will be made longer. . . . . People say that in the duma of Petersburg the question is going on. . . . .

Please send to Maks from me my best wishes. May God allow him to attain as soon as possible his noble end [to finish with the college].

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

223 January 11, 1914

DEAR BROTHERS: . . . . I have been on leave. I got home on December 6, and I left on December 30. Our dearest mother was very glad about my coming and greeted me very tenderly. I am sorry that our dear mother was ill twice during these two years since I have been in the army. . . . . Well, thanks to God the Highest, everything passed off and now mother is healthy, although she still suffers constantly from stomach catarrh. Oh, may God grant our dearest mother to recover fully, for our whole happiness, our whole hope and our good rely upon her. As to our father, he complain, now as he always did, but he has not been ill for these two years. When I was at home we received your letter, dear brother Stanisławs in which you abused father for the question of this land from Switkowski. Maks was right in writing to father that he had even less

confidence in him than in the worth of a Russian rouble. Father justifies himself, but what he thought was really nothing else than that which mother guesses. Father excuses himself for doing so on the score that it cost less, but in reality I think that it would have been as mother says.[1] As to brother Wiktor, he is neither upon water nor upon ice [insecure]. He calls upon the girl every Sunday, but there is nothing certain. But he excuses himself on the ground that there is nobody to work at home, and that he won't marry until I come back from the army. He is partly right. Well, but nobody knows how God will direct his lot. If he had a good chance he ought not to wait until I come. As to Ignac, Julka and Mania, you would not know them, dear brothers, they have grown so. Ignac is perhaps the biggest among us—a boy like a ladder. May our Lord God give him health! I pity him for falling a victim for the sake of this [Chojnacki] boy's skin. When I came, he had sat in prison, for two weeks. [Farm-work, weather and crops.] Grandmother is also bad, she looks sickly. As to Ziółek, he is healthy like a horse, only he has grown a little older. . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

224 April 20, 1914

DEAR BROTHER: . . . . You look very nice and young in the photograph. It is somewhat difficult to know you in the photograph, for you have grown so fat; you are not quite like yourself. . . . . W. Borek looks well also. Evidently you are in good companionship with each other, and it is very right and good to have a companion from one's own neighborhood and well known. Do you live together, or do you perhaps work together? . . . . Please write me, and give him my best wishes and greetings. . . . . At home brother Wiktor got married. The wedding took place on February 18, in the church of Radziwie. He married Miss Antonina Oliszewska from Popłacin. I don't know her, but Wiktorek writes that she is a pretty girl, of middle height, 19 years old. She has a sister 17 years, and a brother 10 years old. Both her parents are dead . . . . and left a fortune, 1 włóka [30 morgs] of land and moreover 1,500 roubles cash for the farm-stock, sold after Oliszewskis' death. . . . . This farm lies quite near the Vistula, and a part of the river belongs to this land. . . . .

[1] The father probably bought or planned to buy the land in his own name. The "lesser cost" probably refers to notarial expenses.

The place is very good, Wiktorek writes, and he praises the fortune highly enough. I hear that he made indeed a good match, and so unexpectedly. When I was on leave at home, Wiktorek had no girl at all, and then suddenly he writes that he is marrying. May God bless him in his new household. But at home conditions have grown worse, for there is nobody to work. Father wrote me to come "for recovery," at least for half a year. Well, I should be glad to come back once and forever and to get free from this accursed service, but it is not in my power, I guess that things are bad at home without us, but what can I do since I must serve? But you, dear brother Staś, since you have no work now and since there is likely to be war [with Mexico], I would advise you to come home. Please write me, how long do you mean to remain in America? Wiktorek intended before to take [father's] farm himself.[1] . . . .

MICHAŁ MARKIEWICZ

225 July 1, 1914

DEAREST BROTHER: . . . . I received 10 roubles and 1 copeck for which I thank you most heartily. I intended to write home for money, when unexpectedly I received 10 roubles. For me it is a big sum of money. . . . . May God grant me . . . . an occasion to prove to you my gratitude for your well-doing, and your brotherly heart, dear brother Staś. And now, in the last year of service money is very necessary, for we must dress ourselves a little better. For it is impossible to go in the clothes which they give, because people would say that such a man came from some prison or some desert, not from military service. . . . . You ask about the service [how long it will last]. I cannot write anything with certainty. . . . . They kept the recruits of 1910 longer because there was war in the Balkans, the Bulgars with the Turks . . . . and Russia wanted to benefit from this war. . . . . He [the Moscovite] likes to make war against the Turks, for they are not Japanese. . . . . May our Lord God and

[1] This last must be understood with reference to the unexpressed question, "Who will take the father's farm, Staś or Michał?" Evidently, Michał would like to have it, for since Wiktor is already married and settled the brother who takes the farm will be favored, particularly so because of the father's attitude. Therefore he tries to learn discreetly whether Staś (who is older) intends to return, and whether he would oppose Michał's taking the farm. There is at the same time a cunning endeavor to learn his brother's intentions, and a mixed feeling, for he evidently loves his brother and would like to have him come.

God's Mother grant me to get free from this Moscovite jaw. . . . . Believe me, when I went with the recruits, I was not so sad as now, since I returned from the leave. I even wept, I was so sorry to return . . . . among these beasts and wolves the "Kacapy." . . . . From home they write . . . . that they have a lawsuit about the trees which grow upon the range between their field and the priest's. They won the first time, but they lost the second time, for the court did not call our witnesses. The lawyer says that we must win. It would be better if they made peace instead of lawsuits, which take money and time. . . . .

MICHAŁ M.

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